

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF

The
Saivism



Saivism

SWAMI PARMESHWARANAND

VOLUME

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This triple volumes Encyclopaedia is a comprehensive and thematic compilation of all important aspects of Śiva and Śaivism in alphabetical order which took active part in origin and development of Indian religio-philosophical tradition. Śiva is one of the eminent ancient Hindu God. Śaivism creates the principle religious current of classical and modern Hinduism which centers on the worship of Lord Śiva. In classical Hindu mythology, Śiva is the god of destruction, generally portrayed as a Yogin who lives in Himalaya. In these volumes, I present more than 1000 themes on Śiva and Śaivism from primitive to modern society.

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Preface

This three volumes Encyclopaedia of Śaivism is a compilation of comprehensive and informative source of religio-philosophical tradition of Śiva and Śaivism. Lord Śiva created or manifested this world out of His free will and on his own accord (*Lila* and *Swatantryasākti*). He is the absolute reality both in his transcendental and immanent aspects. The world is not separate from him. Lord Paramaśiva has manifested himself in two forms, viz., the experiencer and the experienced. The experiencer is *Grahaka*, the individual self and the experienced is *Grahya*, the universe or the objective world. The individual self is no other than Lord Himself with powers limited.

The Universe is divided into thirty-six *tattvas* or categories of universal experience. These are grouped in two ways, as pure order and impure order. The pure order is divided into five Subdivisions Śiva, *Sākti*, *Sadasiva*, *Istara*, *Suddha-vidya*. Out of these five categories, the first-two Śiva and *Sakti* will not undergo any dual change though these are the potential source for further divisions from *Maya* down to earth. When the absolute *Maheśvara*, by his 'Swatantrya' or absolute will, feel like letting go the universe contained in Him, in the first vibration or throbbing of this will he is known as Śiva. This initial creative movement is *Śivatāta*. This is the State of pure *Chaitanya*-Substratum of all changes.

The term Śiva is used for the ultimate condition of consciousness in its immanent aspect. Śiva comprises both the Universal and the individual and manifests as consciousness in conditional form. There is no differentiating attributes to Śiva. Śiva is here called *anasrita*-Śiva because he is the first manifestation of the Supreme being cognising consciousness alone devoid of objects. It is identified as the stage of the *Sunya*. There is no objective content in it. It is only an *avastha* a state.

Though there can be no differentiation between Śiva and *Sākti* as such, the 'Cit' is nevertheless know as Śiva insofar as it is free from all differentiating attributes and as *Sākti* by virtue of its characteristic self awareness Śiva and *Sākti* are inseparably related to each other as the rays to the flame. Here Śiva and *Sākti* may be expressed as

'I am' which is the essence of 'Cit'. *Śakti* is Śiva himself in his creative aspect. *Śakti* that negates the objective side of experience in Śiva. It that negates the objective side of experience in Śiva. It is *Śakti* that polarises consciousness into *Aham* and *Idam* (I and this) subject and object. *Śakti* is not separate from Śiva but Śiva himself in his creative aspect.

We hope that this Encyclopaedia would be an assets for the scholars and readers of Hindu theoloy and philosophy. I am thankful to all those scholars whose works have been included in this publication.

Swami Parmeshwaranand

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The Śaivaāgama

The past two decades have witnessed an unprecedented growth of interest in the Hindu Tantras both on the part of layman and scholar alike. This vast area of study, so badly neglected in the past, is now slowly beginning to come into its own. The new interest, accompanied by a greater (although still very limited) knowledge of the Tantras, has led to a more critical and scholarly approach to the study of these sacred texts. Although scholars in the past were aware that important internal distinctions exist in the 'Tantric tradition', they were largely glossed over in an attempt to penetrate the 'philosophy of the Tantras', or the 'principles of Tantra'. Important exceptions on the Śaiva side (we are not concerned here with Vaiṣṇava Tantra) have been the studies and critical editions made in recent years of the Siddhāntāgamas. This important work must be largely credited to the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry and in particular to Pt. N. R. Bhatt and Dr. Helene Brunner-Lachaux, who has contributed to it immensely by her extensive work on Siddhānta ritual. Another area of research has been the Śrīvidyā tradition. Many of the major Tantras and allied works of this school have been edited and independent studies published. However, apart from these two major fields, hardly any other work has been done on individual Tantric traditions. The aim of this monograph is to pursue this line of approach further by presenting a preliminary study of another Hindu Tantric tradition, namely, the cult of Kubjikā, the details of which are recorded in the Tantras of the Western School: the Pāścimāmnāya.

The Pāścimāmnāya belongs to a category of Śaivāgama variously called 'Kuloāgama', 'Kulāśāstra' or 'Kulāmnāya', which we shall attempt to delineate in the second part of this monograph. Although not as extensive as the Siddhānta or as well known and diffused as the Śrīvidyā, the Pāścimāmnāya is an important and substantial Tantric tradition. Up to now very little work has been done on the Pāścimāmnāya. Hardly any texts of this school have been edited, although about a hundred independent works, some of considerable length, are preserved in manuscripts, almost all of which are in Nepal. At this preliminary stage of research we would do well, first of all, to locate this sacred literature in the vast corpus of the Śaivāgama. Such is the aim of this monograph. Thus, although we shall deal with the Tantras and cult of Kubjikā, we are here primarily concerned only with the contents of these Tantras that can help us to locate them in the

Śaiva canon and construct their history. We are acutely aware that we are considerably handicapped in this task not only by our limited knowledge of the Paścimāmnāya but also by our scant understanding of the structure of the Śaiva canon. Even so, we feel that, however provisional it may turn out to be, at least an attempt should be made to plot, even if in the most general terms, the extent and divisions of the Śaivāgama. Forced as we are at present to work largely with sources in manuscript (many of which are corrupt), and given the vast amount of material that has yet to be studied and the even greater amount that has been lost, our endeavour is audacious, perhaps foolhardy. Even so, we shall be amply rewarded if this work leads to new insights into possible future avenues of research not only in the Kubjikā Tantras but, more generally, into the Śaiva canon.

The earliest known references to sectarian Śaivism are found in Patañjali's Great Commentary (*Mahābhāṣya*) on Pāṇini's grammar probably written in the second century B.C. Patañjali refers to the Śivabhagavats which he describes as itinerant ascetics who wore animal skins and carried an iron lance. The Śaiva symbols found on the coins of the Greek, Śāka and Parthian kings, who ruled in Northern India between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D., confirm that Śiva was already well established during this period as a sectarian god. Unfortunately, however, no sacred texts of any pre-Āgamic Śaiva sect have been preserved. Possibly, none were written during this early period. It is not unlikely, that when Śaivism developed into a popular movement it relied at first on the Vedas and related literature along with the developing Epic and Purāṇic traditions as sounding board—for their sectarian views. We might also justifiably speculate that there must have existed numerous oral traditions that ultimately contributed to the development of a corpus of sacred Śaiva literature the Śaivāgamas that considered itself to be independent of the authority of the Vedas and had nothing to do with the Epics or Purāṇas.

Although it is not possible to say exactly when the first Āgamas were written, there is no concrete evidence to suggest that any existed much before the sixth century. The earliest reference to Tantric manuscripts cannot be dated before the first half of the seventh century. It occurs in Bāṇa's Sanskrit novel, *Kādambarī* in which the author describes a Śaiva ascetic from South India who "had made a collection of manuscripts of jugglery, Tantras and Mantras (which were written) in letters of the red lac on palm leaves (tinged with) smoke." Bāṇa also says that "he had written down the doctrine of Mahākāla, which is the ancient teaching of the Mahāpāsupatas," thus confirming that oral traditions were in fact being committed to writing.

If our dates are correct, it seems that the Śaivāgamas proliferated to an astonishing degree at an extremely rapid rate so that—by the time we reach Abhinavagupta and his immediate predecessors who lived in ninth-century Kashmir we discover in their works references drawn from a vast corpus of Śaivāgamic literature. It is this corpus which constituted the source and substance of the Śaivism of Kashmir, which Kashmiri Śaivites, both monists and dualists, commented on, systematised and extended in their writings and oral transmissions. The dualist Siddhāntins, supported by the authority of the Siddhāntāgamas, initiated this process by developing the philosophical theology of

the Siddhānta. Subsequently, from about the middle of the ninth century, parallel developments took place in monistic Śaivism which drew inspiration largely, but not exclusively, from the Bhairava and other Āgamic groups which constituted the remaining part of the Śaiva corpus.

It was to this part of the Śaivāgama that the sacred texts of the Pāścimāmnāya belonged. These Tantras, unlike those of the Siddhānta, advocated in place extreme forms of Tantricism that actively enjoined such practices as the consumption of meat and wine as well as sex in the course of their rituals.

Āgamic Śaivites who accepted these practices as valid forms of worship constituted a notable feature of religious life throughout India. Although many of these Śaivites were householders, the mainstays of these traditions were largely single ascetics, many of whom traveled widely and in so doing spread their cults from one part of India to another.

An interesting example of this phenomenon is Trika, nowadays virtually identified with monistic Kashmiri Śaivism. Abhinavagupta, who was largely responsible for developing Trika Śaivism into the elevated, sophisticated form in which we find it in his works, was initiated into Trika by Śambhunātha, who came to Kashmir from neighbouring Jālandhara. Sumati, his teacher and an itinerant ascetic like himself, was said to have travelled to the North of India from some "sacred place in the South." The Jain Somadeva confirms that Trika was known in South India during the tenth century. Somadeva identifies the followers of the Trikamata as Kaulas who worship Śiva in the company of their Tantric consorts by offering him meat and wine. It is worth noting incidentally that Somadeva was very critical of the Trika Kaulas. "If liberation," he says, "were the result of a loose, undisciplined life, then thugs and butchers would surely sooner attain to it than these Kaulas!" Although Somadeva was a Jain monk and so would naturally disapprove of such practices and tend to take extreme views, it appears nonetheless that Trika was not always as elevated as it now seems to us to be.

Although the Pāścimāmnāya is entirely confined to Nepal at present it was, according to one of its most important Tantras, the Kubjikāmata spread by the goddess to every corner of India, right up to Kanyakumārī in the South, identified, by allusion, with Kubjikā the goddess of the Pāścimāmnāya. A long list of initiates into the Pāścimāmnāya and their places of residence is recorded in the Kubjikānityāhnikatilaka, a work written before the twelfth century. It is clear from this list that the cult had spread throughout India although it was certainly more popular in the North. That the Pāścimāmnāya was known in South India in the thirteenth century is proved by references in Maheśvarānanda's Mahārthamañjarī to the Kubjikāmata as well as a work called "pāścimam" which may or may not be the same work but most probably belongs to the same tradition. An old, incomplete manuscript of the Kubjikāmata is still preserved in the manuscript library of the University of Kerala in Trivandrum.

Despite relatively early references to the existence of Āgamic Śaivism in the South, it seems that the Śaivāgamas originally flourished in Northern India, spreading to the South only later. Madhyadeśa (an area covering Eastern Uttar Pradesh and West

Bihar) was, according to Abhinavagupta, considered to be the "repository of all scripture hence also of the Śaivāgama and the Kulāśāstra. The importance of this part of India is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Benares, in the centre of this area, is to be visualised as a sacred place (pīṭha) located in the heart of the body in the course of the Kaula ritual described in Tantrāloka. Similarly, Prayāga and Vārāṇasī are projected in the same way on to the centre of the body during the ritual described in the Yoginīhr̥daya, a Kaula Tantra of the original Śaivāgama. The sacred circle (maṇḍala) shown to the neophyte in the course of his initiation into the cult of the Brahmayāmala is to be drawn in a cremation ground with the ashes of a cremated human corpse. In it are worshipped Yakṣas, Piśācas and other demonic beings, including Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa, who surround Bhairava to whom wine is offered with oblations of beef and human flesh prepared in a funeral pyre. The name of this circle is the "Great Cremation Ground" (mahāśmaśāna) and ■ to be drawn in Vārāṇasī. Siddheśvari is a quarter of Benares named after a goddess worshipped there; she was originally called Siddhāyogेशvari, an important goddess of the Trika.

Although the Paścimāmnāya was not popular in Kashmir, we must first examine the monistic Kashmiri sources to understand something of the development of the Śaivāgama and the relationship between the different groups which constituted it, including the Kaula group to which the Paścimāmnāya belongs. This is because Abhinavagupta's Trika encompassed the entire spectrum of Śaiva Āgamic cults ranging from those of the Śaivasiddhānta and the Siddhānta—type ritual of the Svachchanda cult popular in Kashmir, right through to those of the Bhairavatantras and Kulāgamas to Trika. There are references to more than five hundred lost works within this range. Many of these Tantras and related works must still have existed in the thirteenth century when Jayaratha commented on the Tantrāloka and quoted extensively from these sources. From the manner in which he talks about these Tantras it appears that some at least of the rituals they described continued to be performed in his time. However, outside the Himalayan region matters were different. Thus, although the Siddhānta flourished in the South, we can infer from the numerous references in Maheśvarānanda's Mahārthamanjari, written about this time, that a good number of the primary Tantras familiar to Abhinavagupta were not known in the South. However, the secondary works associated with them (many still scripture in their own right) as well as Kashmiri works of known authors and texts belonging to the Kramanaya had been carefully preserved and even added to.

A great deal of this literature has been lost. There is no denying the fact that a relatively sudden interruption of the traditions associated with these texts has taken place: a break has occurred in the development of the Tantras. Within two or three centuries not only had the bulk of the Bhairavatantras and similar Tantric works been lost, but even Abhinavagupta and the monist Kashmiri authors seem, except in a few isolated cases, to have disappeared. It was only in the beginning of this century that the works of these authors started to be rescued from oblivion when their works began to be edited by Kashmiri scholars employed in a government research centre at Srinagar which

published them as the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. The study of these texts made scholars aware of the loss of a large and rich corpus of Tantric literature. Indeed, this loss has been so great that all the developments in monistic Tantra after Abhinavagupata, with the important exception of the cult of Śrividya, were fresh beginnings which had little direct connection with older corpus, so much so that the younger scriptures are no longer called "Śaivāgamas" but "Tantras." Thus the term "Tantra," which has anyway a wide range of connotations, is used at times to denote a Śākta Tantric scripture to distinguish it from a Śaiva Āgama, whereas we find both words used in the early corpus without distinction.

The reason for this loss has certainly much to do with the ethos of Hinduism itself and its history as a whole. The secrecy that these types of Tantras have always imposed on themselves is indicative of the uneasiness which these Tantric cultural elements must have aroused in many. Thus the Purāṇas, which are from many points of view the bastions and *guardians* of Hindu orthodoxy, initially tended to reject the authority of the Tantras and so largely avoided quoting from them. However, insofar as the Purāṇas aimed to be complete compendiums of Hindu spirituality and practice, they later included long sections from Tantric sources, especially when dealing with ritual, the building and consecration of temples, Yoga and related matters. Thus there is much Tantric material to be found everywhere in the Purāṇas. The Brahmaivaivartakpurāṇa contains a brilliant theological exposition of the Supreme as the Goddess Nature (Prakṛti), which is a theme dear to Tantra in its later phases. The Devī, Devībhagavata, the Kālīkā and large portions of the Nārada Purāṇas are extensively Tantric. The hymns eulogizing the names of the goddess, accounts of her actions, lists of female attendants of male gods, their Mantras, Yantras and much more show how strong the influence of Tantric ideas was on the Purāṇas. They also demonstrate that such trends were not only clearly apparent in the history of the development of Tantras but applied to them also. These developments, in other words, concerned the whole of the literate tradition, and so the Purāṇas could, without difficulty or self-contradiction, incorporate relevant material from the Tantras.

These incorporations were drawn from the entire range of Tantric sources available at the time in which they were made. It seems likely. In fact, that a possible way in which we can gain some idea of when these Tantric passages were added to the Purāṇic text is to establish the type of Tantric source from which they were drawn. No one has yet attempted to apply this method in an extensive or systematic way. However, the validity of this approach finds the support of R.C. Hazra, who in his work does attempt to date some Purāṇic passages on this basis. The Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas, for example, deal extensively with Tantric topics. Their treatment is based largely on the Śaivāgamas and Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās which belong to the early Tantric period, i.e., prior to the tenth century. As an example relevant to the study of the Pāścimāmnāya, we may cite chapters 143-147 of the Agnipurāṇa where the goddess Kubjikā is extolled and the manner in which she is to be worshipped is described. As Kubjikā is not worshipped in the way described in the Agnipurāṇa in later Tantric sources, we can conclude that this addition must be relatively early.

The changes in the Tantric material found in the Purāṇas also serve to underscore the fact that many of the early Tantras were lost and their cults superseded by others. Undoubtedly, this is partly due to the effects of the passage of time with its changing fads and interests. Manuscripts in India have a relatively short lifespan; if they are not copied, the texts they transmit soon become obsolete. Through the centuries much has been lost in this way from all the Indian Śāstras. In the case of the Tantras, particularly the esoteric ones such as those belonging to the Bhairava and Kaula groups, this natural process was reinforced by the custom of disposing of the Tantric text once the teacher had explained its meaning to his disciple. Moreover, the regional character of many of these Tantric cults entailed the scarcity of copies of their Tantras. Not infrequently, therefore, the speaker of a Tantra prefaces his instruction with an exhortation to hear the Tantra which is "very hard to acquire (sudurlabha)."

There were, however, other factors at work apart from purely mechanical loss. Let us go back to the Purāṇas. Although the Purāṇas drew from Tantric sources, their attitude to the Tantras varied and was at times far from positive. The orthodox community, which the Purāṇas, largely represented, was not always in favour of the Tantras, even though they somehow accepted them. The problem was that the Tantras often set themselves in opposition to the orthodox line. For one thing, the Āgamas as a whole rejected the authority of the Vedas. Some Āgamic schools took a mere tolerant view, others stuck to a harder line; even so the Āgamic tradition as a whole thought of itself as being quite distinct from the Vedic. This was particularly true of the Bhairava and the other classes of Tantras that suffered the greatest loss. Thus the Ānandabhairava-tantra declares:

The wise man should not elect as his authority the word of the Vedas, which is full of impurity, produces but scanty and transitory fruits and is limited. (He should instead sustain the authority) of the Śaiva scriptures.

Abhinava remarks:

That which according to the Veda is a source of sin, leads, according to this doctrine of the left, directly to liberation. In fact, all the Vedic teaching is dominated by Māyā.

The Purāṇas basically sustain the authority of the Vedas. Understandably, they therefore reacted against these scriptures which so explicitly opposed themselves to it. Sometimes these differences were simply ignored; in other cases, however, the Purāṇas manifested an open hostility towards the Śaivāgama. The Purāṇic passages which represented the orthodox standpoint staunchly condemned these scriptures as inferior. They agreed that Śiva had revealed them, but his reason for doing so was to delude the apostate and distract him from the true path: they are the scriptures of darkness (tāmasī). The Kūrmapurāṇa is particularly adamant in its opposition to these scriptures

and repeatedly stresses that the Vedas are the sole source of right conduct and true religion (dharma). The Kūrma, which is a Śaiva Purāṇa, wants to disassociate itself completely from Āgamic Śaivism. It displays an almost obsessive concern to condemn the scriptures of the heretical (pāṣaṇḍa) Śaivites, namely those of the Kāpālikas, the Bhairava and Vāma Tantras, the Yāmalaś and those of the Pāśupatas. Similarly in the Varāhapurāṇa, Rudra himself denounces the Pāśupatas and the other followers of the Śaivāgamas as given to “mean and sinful acts” and as “addicted to meat, wine and women”. Their scriptures are outside the pale of the Vedas (vedabāhya) and contrary to them. The Smārta Śākta Devībhagavata unambiguously declares that Śiva made the scriptures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulas and Bhairavas with the sole intention of deluding them. Even so, it is more tolerant towards these scriptures than the Kūrmapurāṇa, and so prescribes that those portions of them that do not go against the Vedas can be accepted without incurring sin.

These instances are just a few of many examples that clearly demonstrate that a marked tendency existed within Hinduism to reject these scriptures and condemn their followers. It is not surprising, therefore, that these Tantric traditions were at times actively repressed. We read, for example, in hagiographies of Śaṅkara's life of his encounter with the kind of the Vidarbhas in eastern Maharashtra who asked Śaṅkara to suppress the heretical views of the followers of the Bhairavatantras—a request with which he gladly complied. King Yaśaskara of Kashmir (938-48 A.D.) was concerned to enforce the rules regulating the caste and conditions of life (varṇāśramadharmā) amongst his subjects and was therefore against the Tantric practices of the Śaivāgamas which had no regard for them. He was so opposed to these practices that he did not hesitate to imprison even the nephew of his foreign minister for attending Tantric gatherings (cakramelaka).

This resistance within Hinduism to the Āgamas was not, however, the direct cause of their loss, although it must have been a crucial attendant factor. The interruption that occurred in the Tantric tradition was catastrophic: it took place suddenly and was totally devastating. We must therefore seek a cause which was immediate and directly effective. Nor do we have to look far. The eleventh century, which marks the beginning of this change in the Tantric tradition, coincides with a sudden reversal in the course of India's history, namely, the advent of Muslim rule. In the beginning of the eleventh century the brief incursions of Muslim raiders into Indian territories that had been going on for centuries turned, under the lead of Mahamūd of Ghazni, into a full-scale invasion. The onslaught of Islam forced Hinduism to retreat, challenging its resistance and stability as a whole. The Muslim scholar, Al-Biruni, who came to India with the invading armies noted that “the Hindu Sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.” Mahamūd of Ghazni did not manage to conquer Kashmir, although he plundered the Valley in 1014 A.D. and again attacked it, this time without success, in the following year. But even Kashmir, although outside the Muslim's reach for the time being, felt the intense impact of the Muslim presence in India. Kṣemendra, the Kashmiri polymath, describes in his Acts of the Incarnations of Viṣṇu (Daśāvatāracarita)

written in 1066 A.D., the dire conditions that will prevail in the world on the eve of the coming of Kalki, Viṣṇu's last incarnation who was to finally herald the dawn of a new age of freedom. He says:

The Dards, Turks, Afghans and Śākas will cause the earth to wither as do the leper his open, oozing sores. Every quarter overrun by the heathen (mleccha), the earth will resound with the sound of swords drawn in combat and her soil will be drenched with blood.

The following centuries, during which the Muslims consolidated and extended their rule, witnessed the disappearance of Āgamic Śaivism in the north of India. The Āgamic Siddhānta survived these upheavals by fleeing to the South where the Muslim presence was not as powerful as in the north. Dunuwila writes:

After the twelfth century the Siddhānta seems to have been losing popularity over most of India, giving way to more syncretic forms of Hinduism. The Siddhāntins also seem to have lost their posts as Royal Preceptors with the downfall of the dynasties that patronised them, as did the Kalacuris in the early thirteenth century. What remained of the Siddhānta was apparently annihilated by the ever-increasing Muslim incursions into Central India from the more northern regions of the country already under Muslim dominion. The Hindu will to resist the Islamic invaders, never very firm, was demoralised by Prthvirāja III's defeat at Taran in 1192. Mālwā, the Siddhānta's homeland, was raided by the Mamluk Delhi Sultān Iltutmish in 1234-35, by his successor Balban in 1250, and by the Khalji Sultan Jalāluddīn in 1292. The Muslims finally triumphed in 1305, when Alāuddīn Khalji overran Mālwā, destroying, among other places, the sacred city of Ujjayini and Bhoja's capital Dhārā. The Siddhānta had to take refuge in the Tamil country to survive.

The Tantras of the Paścimāmnāya composed during this period are intensely aware of the harmful consequences of these developments. According to the Manthānabhairavatantra, the demon Rāvaṇa incarnated in this Age of Darkness (Kaliyuga) and descended onto the bank of the Indus, thus initiating the tyranny of the heathens' rule that extended its sway throughout the world. Another Tantra of the Kubjikā school describes the dreadful state which prevails in the Age of Darkness as one in which the lower classes are oppressed by the proud Hindu aristocracy even though it has been defeated in battle and so must, presumably, accept foreign domination. Just as the Siddhānta found refuge in the South, the cult of Kubjikā was similarly protected by the patronage of the Nepalese who eagerly adopted it as their own. Thus, it has survived to this day along with the huge royal libraries and many private collections large and small where virtually all that remains of the early Āgamic sources in North India is preserved.

It was not until the late thirteenth century that Kashmir finally succumbed to the Muslim invader and so we find, as we have already noted, that the Āgamas existed intact in the twelfth century when Jayaratha wrote his commentary on Abhinava's Tantrāloka. However, in Kashmir, which must have been one of the most flourishing centres of Āgamic Śaivism in India, the powerful internal forces within the monistic Āgamic

traditions that led to the further development of monistic Śaivism in the hands of Kashmiri Śaiva theologians and exegetes, also helped to render obsolete the Āgamas, which were their original sources and foundation. The Kaula rituals which were controversial gradually ceased to be performed, giving way to tamer and milder cults, such as that of Svachchandabhairava, while the deeper philosophical, psychological and mystical insights behind the symbolic actions of the Kaula ritual were transferred entirely into the realms of philosophy and a mysticism of graded inner experiences. Thus the original scriptures, which were concerned with ritual, ceased to serve a purpose and all that remained was their philosophical and mystical exegesis. In Nepal on the other hand, where these sorts of developments did not take place, the Nepalese abandoned themselves to the opposite extreme—a formal ritualism which, though charged with meaning, and lost all significance for them beyond the ritual act itself. Thus the Nepalese, unlike the Kashmiris, did preserve the original Tantras they made use of in their rituals, but largely failed to see anything beyond their immediate content.

But apart from these extrinsic factors, a highly significant intrinsic factor contributed to the loss of these scriptures, namely, the internal development of the Śaivāgama itself. The Śaivāgamas, even those most Śaiva-oriented, accommodated within themselves the concept of Śakti. This trend developed within some of the Śaivāgamas towards such a female-oriented view that at a certain stage, they simply ceased to be Śaiva. The Śāktatantras took over and, permeated with the earlier Kaula doctrine and ritual forms, preserved along with those Tantras which continued to consider themselves to be Kaula (although not directly connected to their predecessors), the presence of this antinomian element within Hinduism. The old was transformed into something new, which replaced what had gone before so completely that all that remained was a dim memory of a glorious past in the form of the names of the ancient Āgamas now given to new works. The most hardy survivor of these far-reaching changes was the mild Kaula cult of Śrividya. The Pāścimāmnāya is another Kaula cult that has managed to survive almost to the present day, although only within the narrow confines of Nepal.

Saivāgama Major and Secondary Divisions

At the outset of our exposition of the extent and divisions of the Śaivāgamic canon, with a view to ultimately determining the place of the Pāścimāmnāya within it, it is important to note that although each Āgama does identify itself as a member of a cognate group, it is, ideally, complete in itself. Indeed, the standard pattern in many large Āgamas of every type is the exposition of the essentials for a complete cult. These include the rites of initiation along with other occasional and obligatory rituals as well as the rules of conduct to be observed together with some theoretical considerations about the nature of reality and other matters. Many of the large temple complexes in South India, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, affiliate themselves to one or other Viṣṇavasamhitā or Śaivāgama on the basis of which (in theory at least) they were built and worship in them is conducted. Abhinavagupta frequently refers to a Tantra as a teaching (śāsana) in its own right. Again, although he accepted all Śaiva scriptures as authoritative to a degree, the

Siddhāyogeśvarimata, (A)Nāmakatantra and Mālinivijayottara were singled out as the ultimate authorities for the Trika Tantricism he sponsored. He also sustained the Siddhāyogeśvarimata's claim to being the most important of all the scriptures.

The primary textual tradition orders itself into canonical corpuses of sacred literature, which reflect upon themselves as belonging to a single group and so strive to concretely supplement and extend each other within the parameters chosen for themselves. We can observe this happening more commonly with primary texts belonging to the early formative period of Tantra. This tendency is more noticeable the more restricted the group becomes. Thus the scriptures of the Paścimāmnāya, which constitute a subdivision of a much larger category of scriptures, form a relatively coherent group. The rituals of the individual Tantras of the Paścimāmnāya do, in fact, share many common details. The basic Mantric system, for example, is fairly uniform in the majority of the Paścima Tantras, and matters which one Tantra deal with cursorily are taken up and elaborated in another.

In this way the huge body of primary texts consists of a manifold in which each member is independent although connected more or less directly, through the mediation of common affiliations variously established, ■ others. It is not surprising, therefore, if we come across a certain amount of incoherence (not to say, at times, outright contradiction) even between texts belonging to the same group. Indeed, one of the functions of the Tantric master in the ordering and development of the Tantric tradition is to sort out these textual problems. Thus Abhinavagupta explains in his Tantrāloka that the Tantric master who teaches his disciples the meaning of the scriptures must, if necessary, proceed through them as a frog does, leaping from place to place within them. He must have an eye for every detail and observe it in its broader context, viewing the text as a whole, as does the lion strolling through the jungle who looks in all directions as he walks. Paraphrasing the Devyāyāmala Abhinava says:

The master should explain the statements (of the Tantra, demonstrating and) corroborating their consistency by means of their interconnection and apply this principle to the various sections of the text, its chapters, sentences, words and root meaning (sūtra). He should ensure that the preceding and subsequent sections of the scripture do not appear to contradict each other and so apply, as required, the principles (that one must move from one section to the next) as a frog leaps (omitting what is irrelevant), or as the lion who looks around (in all directions as he walks). In this way he should coalesce the meaning of the scripture into a single coherent expression unconfounded with other teachings. Knowing well the meaning of each phrase as he expounds it he avails himself of sound associations (tantra), repetition (āvartana) exclusion (bādhā), extensive application (prasaṅga) and reason (tarka), etc., taking care to distinguish one topic from another.

The manner in which Śaivism developed in these early primary texts is analogous

to the development of Hinduism as a whole: subsequent developments are viewed as being culminations of what has gone before in such a way that what is new appears not only as superior, but also incorporates all that has happened in the past. In this manner new scriptures can maintain their canonicity within (in this case, an amazingly rapidly) expanding corpus that encompasses what is old in a new system of classification in which the newcomers can reckon themselves to be amongst the members of the highest class.

We can observe this process happening in the sections of the Āgamic canon. These sections are an important part of the text because it is by means of them that the text can validate its own canonicity while at the same time present itself as belonging to a well-defined category of scripture. As new developments take place, these categories are extended, and subdivisions added or redefined. A particular Tantra may assert itself as a major member of a group and so institute new categories to make a place for itself or elevate old ones to a new, higher status. In other words, a text that records the structure of the canon is free to interfere with it. At times, this leads to a major change in the form of the canon. More often however, these changes are minor, indeed, sometimes none need be made if the text can accommodate itself amongst the others as a member of an already established group. Even so, the picture we get of the canon is, at times, perplexingly mutable. Moreover, matters are further complicated by the fact that more than one system of classification usually operates at one time. Thus a given text may fall into a number of classifications operating at different times. A text may understand itself, and the extent and nature of the group to which it belongs, in different terms than it is understood by another text—particularly if the latter is of a different class. Another factor which adds to the confusion is that some terms of reference to groups are broader than others. If all this were not enough, we also find that seemingly identical paradigms of classification are applied to different groups.

In order to understand the overall scheme of the Śaivāgama, we shall now briefly consider what different texts have had to say about their own location in it, and from that try to form a picture of its extent and parts. We shall begin by seeing what the Śaivasiddhānta has had to say.

According to the Kāmikāgama, spiritual knowledge was originally of two types, superior (parā) and inferior (apaśā), according to the level of intelligence of those fit to comprehend it. Śivajñāna, which illumines the nature of Śiva, is superior while inferior is that knowledge which, starting from the Veda, illumines the nature of the fettered soul (paśu) and that which binds him (paśa). These two degrees of knowledge are as different from one another as the night vision of a cat and that of a man. Śaiva scripture encompasses both the superior and inferior degrees of knowledge insofar as Śiva is considered to be the ultimate source of both. The higher knowledge is divided into four groups. These are, in descending order of importance: Śaiva, Pāsupata, Lākula and Somasiddhānta. Each is again divided into three: Right (dakṣiṇa), Left (vāma) and Siddhānta in such a way that the highest is Śaivasiddhānta. According to a similar classification found in the Siddhānta manuals of South India, there are two basic

categories: Śiva and Śaiva. These are subdivided as follows:

Śiva	Vāmaśiva Dakṣiṇaśiva Miśraśiva or Yāmalaśiva Siddhāntaśiva
Śaiva	Pāśupata Somasiddhānta Lākula

Clearly, the basic scheme consisting of four components, namely Śaiva, Pāśupata, Lākula and Somasiddhānta, has not changed. All that has happened is that the first of these four has been further analysed. Indeed, this basic scheme recurs frequently in the Siddhāntāgamas where it is generally integrated (as happens in the Kāmikāgama) into the larger scheme we shall discuss later. It appears to be one of the most basic classification of the Śaivāgamic schools and so, possible, one of the oldest. Let us therefore, examine it a little more closely.

Important sources for us are the commentaries on Brahmasūtra 2/2/37 which states: "For the Lord there can be no creatorship for that leads to incongruity." Commenting on this aphorism, Śaṅkara simply refers to the Māheśvaras as those who worship Śiva as the supreme God. Vācaspati Miśra (c. 850 A.D.) divides the Māheśvaras into four: Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kāpālīka and Kāruṇika Siddhāntins. Yāmunācārya (c. 1050 A.D.), in his Āgamaprāmānya, lists the same basic four as Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kapālins and Kālāmukhas. Most later commentators follows this classification. Rāmānuja in his commentary on the Brahmasūtra lists the same four declaring, mistakenly, that they are Pāśupata sects because their followers agree that Paśupati is the instrumental cause of the universe. Keśava Kāśmīrin agrees with this view, while Śrīkaṇṭha correctly explains that they are all believers in the Āgamas revealed by Śiva, rather than just Pāśupatas.

We find the same set of four in the Purāṇas and other independent sources. Lorenzen has collected a number of references to these groups and lists them in his book. Although Lorenzen's chart is somewhat lengthy, the material it contains is sufficiently relevant to our present discussion for us to quote most of it here. See Table 1.1

TABLE 1.1
Śaiva Sects Mentioned in the Purāṇas and Other Sources

1	2	3	4
Kūrma Purāṇa	Kāpāla	Pāśupata	Also Vāma Bhairava, Pūrva paśīma and Pāñcarāta

1	2	3	4
	Soma Lākura or Lāñjana or Vākula	Pāśupata	Also Vāma and Bhairava
	Soma Lāṅgala (Lāguda)	Pāśupata	Also Vāma and Bhairava
Nāradya P.	Kāpāla Mahāvrata- dhara	Pāśupata Siddhānta mārga	
Śiva P. Vāya- vīya-saṃhitā	Kāpāla Mahāvrata- dhara	Pāśupata Siddhānta mārga	
Skanda P.	Kaṅkāla Kālamukha	Pāśupata Śiva	Also Mahāvrata
Skanda P. Sūta-saṃhitā	Kāpāla Lākula	Pāśupata	Also Soma
Svayambhu P.	Soma Vā(Lā)kula	Pāśupata Śaiva	
Vāmana P.	Kāpālīkā Kāladamana Mahāvrata Kālamukha	Pāśupata Śaiva Pāśupata Śaiva	Also Mahāpāśupata and several others
Yogavāsiṣṭha and Liṅga P. Ānandagiri	Soma Nākula	Pāśupata Śaiva	Also Lokāyata and Bhairava, Also Ugra, Raudra, Bhaṭṭa and Jaṅgama
Rājaśekhara	Mahāvrata- dhara Kālamukha	Pāśupata	
Śaktisaṅgama- tantra	Kālamukha	Śaiva Pāśupata	Also six others
Siddha- siddhānta paddhati	Kāpālīkā	Śaiva Pāśupata Śaiva	Also Mahāvrata dhara and five others
Malkāpuram Stone Inscription	Śivaśāna Kālānana	Pāśupata Śaiva	

We can draw the following conclusions from these lists. Firstly despite the variant names and entries, they effectively establish the uniformity of this system of classification. Secondly, we can identify the groups generically called "Śaiva" with the Śaivasiddhānta in a restricted sense (as the Nāradya and Śiva Purāṇas seem to do) and, more generally, with the Śaivāgama as a whole considered independently of the Pāśupatas etc. This conclusion is supported by the distinction made between the 'Śiva' and 'Śaiva' groups in the South Indian Siddhānta manual we have referred to previously. Moreover, the absence of this entry in the lists drawn from the Yogavāsiṣṭa, Kūrma and Liṅga Purāṇas apparently coincides with the addition of the Bhairava and Vāmatantras which are major components of the Śaivāgamic canon. Thirdly, the entry "Kāpālīka" (variants: Kāpāla, Soma, Saumya and Kaṅkāla) appears regularly in almost all lists and so must be considered to be an independent group. This is true also of the "Pāśupata" and the "Lākula" (variants: Kālāmukha, Kālānana and Kālāsya) sometimes appears to take the place of the Lākuliśa Pāśupata entry. The Kālāmukhas studied Lakuliśa's religion (Lākulaśamaya) and doctrines (Lākulasiddhānta). Kālāmukha teachers are regularly praised in inscriptions by identifying them with Lkuliśa. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Kālāmukhas were Lākuliśa Pāśupatas. Even so, not all-Lākuliśa Pāśupatas were Kālāmukhas; it would therefore be wrong to simply identify the two.

Let us now turn to a more detailed discussion of these groups individually. We shall deal first with the Pāśupata sects, then discuss the Kāpālīkas, and then finally turn to the Śaivāgamas and their major divisions.

2

Śaiva Mathas in Tanjavur District

An attempt has been made in this paper to focus one aspect of development in the realm-of religion in later medieval period in Tamilnadu. This period witnessed the fall of the later Pandyas, a brief spell of Muslim rule, and the establishment of Nayak rule and Maratha rule. Two alien religions—Islam and Christianity—also were introduced into the Tamil society which were to produce far-reaching consequences in the following centuries. The Vijayanagar empire which stood as a bulwark of Hinduism in Southern India was responsible for the regeneration of Hinduism in the Tamil country. The founding of the three Śaiva *mathas* in Tanjavur district bear testimony to the revival of Śaivism. If we apply some of the norms adopted to label periods in European History to Tamilnadu History, then it is possible to make the following classification:

- I. Ancient Period may be said to have ended with Kalabhra interregnum by about 600 A.D. This period can be termed the Classical Age since classical works in Tamil were produced during the Sangam epoch.
- II. Medieval Period may be said to have lasted from 600 A.D. to 1800 A.D. while Pallavas and Imperial Cholas (600-to 1200 A.D.) can be assigned to the early medieval period, Chalukya Cholas, Later Pandyas and Nayaks (1200 to 1800 A.D.) can be assigned to the later medieval period. The revival of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism and the royal patronage extended to these two major sects of Hinduism entitle this period to be called 'The Age of Faith'.
- III. Modern Period of Tamilnadu History may be said to commence by 1800 A.D. when the English East India Company brought most of the Tamil country under its rule. This resulted in the inflow of Western cultural elements which began to modernise the traditional culture of the Tamil country.

Political Condition

It was during the rule of the Vijayanagar viceroys in the Tamil country that the three Tanjore Śaiva *mathas* came into existence. The Sultanate of Madurai had a brief spell for 36 years from 1335 to 1371 A.D. It was left to Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka I (1335-76), to terminate the Muslim rule in the South in 1371 A.D. He became the Mahamandalesvara of the Rajagambirarajyam (Chola and Tondai Mandalams) and the

Pandiyarajyam. He was not merely a conqueror but was also the true representative of the Vijayanagar Empire who infused into the Tamil country the true spirit and significance for which Vijayanagar came into existence. For about a century from 1363 to 1463, the Vijayanagar rule over the Tamil country was steadily consolidated under the able leadership of Harihara II, Devaraya I and Devaraya II. Towards the end of Mallikarjuna's rule and during the weak rule of Virupaksha II there was a steady decline in the authority of the Sangama rulers (see Appendix A).

On the death of Saluva Narasimha, the chieftains of the Chola, the Pandya and the Chera countries seem to have asserted independence. But it was left to Narasa Nayaka, the son of Saluva Narasimha to reconquer the entire Tamil country by defeating the Chola and the Pandya chieftains. Krishnadeva Raya (1509-30) consolidated the gains and divided the Tamil country into three separate Nayakdoms-Jinji, Tanjavur and Madurai. The Nayakship of Madurai was started in the time of Krishnadeva Raya and the first Viceroy was Visvanatha (1529-64). The most famous of the Nayaks of Madurai was Tirumala Nayaka (1623-59) and the last Nayak ruler was Minakshi (1732-36) and afterwards Madurai became part of the Kingdom of Arcot Nawabs (see Appendix B).

The Nayakship of Tanjavur was set up by Krishnadeva Raya in 1521, and the first Nayak Viceroy was Timmappa Nayak (1521-32). The last of the Nayak rulers, Chengamaladas, was deposed by the Maratha chieftain, Venkaji alias Ekoji. (see Appendix C). This resulted in the establishment of the Maratha rule in Tanjavur which lasts till Shivaji I (1833-55) when it ended with the application of the Doctrine of Lapse by the English East India Company (see Appendix D).

Religious Condition

(a) *Decay of Hinduism*: Malik Kafur's invasion and the coming of Islam into the Tamil country led to the decline of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism which enjoyed the patronage of the Imperial Cholas and later Pandyas. The pathetic condition of Hindu temples has been described by Gangadevi in her epic *Madhuravijayam* thus: "As a result of the diabolical tyranny of the Sultans of Madurai, Vyagrapuri (Chidambaram) has actually become the abode of tigers. The Vimana of the Srirangam temple is so dilapidated that it is now the hood of Adisesha alone that is protecting the idol of Ranganatha from the falling debris. The Lord of Tiruvanaikka who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment has now been reduced to the previous condition. The Garbagrahas of many temples are falling, their Mandapas are overgrown with vegetation and the wooden doors are being eaten up by white ants". Subsequently Hinduism was rescued and revived by the patronage extended by the Nayak rulers of Madurai and Tanjavur.

(b) *Intrusion of Islam*: The object of Malik Kafur's expedition in the Tamil country was not the propagation of Islam. He just pursued a policy of plunder and loot of Hindu temples mostly. The first real attempt to conquer South India in general and the Tamil country in particular was made during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. Even though the Madurai Sultanate was a short lived one, it left indelible scars in the minds of the

Hindu population. From the account of Ibn Batuta we can infer the degree of ill-treatment meted to non-Muslim subjects during the viceroyalty of Ghiyask-un-din Muḥammad Shah Damaghani. The challenge of Islam produced the political and religious responses of the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire and its sway over the Tamil country.

(c) *The Challenge of Christianity*: It was during the reign of the Nayaks of Madurai that regular Christian missionary activities were started in the Tamil country. Robert de Nobili was aware of the difficulties of his proselytization work at Madurai in spite of his new approach to the problem of converting Hindus to Christianity. Sevappa Nayak of Tanjavur permitted the Protestant Missionaries to construct a residence and a church at Tranquebar. They were encouraged to install their printing presses and propagate their religion through publications at Tranquebar, Porto Novo and Devanampattinam. The Portuguese missionaries were allowed to have their churches built at Negapatnam. The activities of the missionaries may be regarded as one of the factors of regeneration of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the Tamil country, particularly in and around Tanjavur and Madurai, the seats of Nayak power.

The origin of the three Śaiva Mathas are traced in the following chronological order of their founding: Tiruvavatuturai *matha*, (2) Tarumapuram *matha* and (3) Tiruppanantal *matha*.

Tiruvavatuturai Matha

This *matha* is situated near the Śiva shrine of the same name. The shrine is located about a mile south-east of Narasinganpettai railway station in the Mayuramk-Tanjavur line. This is the 36th Śaiva shrine south of Kaviri river as per Śaiva tradition. The name of God is Macilamanjyicar and the Goddess is called Oppilamulaiyammal. The sacred tree of the temple is *aracu*. This temple has the distinction of having been visited and sung by the *Tevaram* trio. Tirumular is also said to have composed the *Triumantiram* at Tiruvavatuturai.

The *matha* at Tiruvavatuturai was founded by Namacivayar as per the direction of his guru Cittar Civappirakaca Tecikar. Before initiation into priesthood Namacivayar was known as Vaitṭiyanatar, hailing from Muvalur from a Śaiva Vellala family. The date of the founding of the *matha* or the life-time of the founder is not clearly ascertainable. However, the probable date of the establishment of the Tiruvavatuturai *matha* can be determined by the references made in Saka era in some of the works written by spiritual leaders or Śaiva Siddhānta scholars.

(1) The founder of the Matha Namacivaya Tecikar was the disciple of Cittar Civappirakaca Tecikar. Civappirakaca Tecikar was the disciple of Arul Namacivayar. Arul Namacivayar was the disciple of Umapati Civam who wrote *Caṅkarpa Nirakaranam*. The date of the composition of this work has been given by Umapati Civam as Saka 1235, which is A.D. 1313. By adding 120 years for four generations from Umapati Civam to Namacivaya Tecikar the probable date of the *matha* may be derived as A.D. 1433. In other words mid-15th century A.D. may be taken to be the time of the establishment of the Tiruvavatuturai *matha*.

(2) A noted Śaivite scholar who was a contemporary of Namacivaya Tecikar was Civakkoluntu Accariyar. His disciple was Vilicivakkira. Yoki who wrote a work entitled *Caiva caraniyaca pattati*. In this work the Yoki has given the date of composition as Saka 1486 which is A.D. 1564. Allowing a deduction of 60 years for two generations A.D. 1504 may be taken to be the time around which Namacivaya Tecikar lived. Hence as per this method of calculation the last quarter of the 15th century A.D. may be regarded to be the time of the founding of the Tiruvavatuturai Matha.

Tarumapuram Matha

This *matha* is located three miles east of Mayuram railway junction. But for the shrines built by the founder and subsequent heads of the *matha*, Tarumapuram cannot claim to possess a shrine of antiquity such as those visited and sung by the *Tevaram* trio.

The list of the heads of *matha* and their traditional biographical accounts are available but they do not provide any direct clue to determine the date of the founding of the *matha*. The founder of the Tarumapuram *matha* is Guru Nanacampantar. He was born in Srivilliputtur in the Pandya country in a Śaiva Vellala family. His father's name was Subramania Pillai and mother's name was Minatchi Ammaiyar. Both were pious devotees of Śiva and brought up Nancampantar in the traditional way. By the time he was sixteen, he was well versed in Agamas and Sastras both in Tamil and Sanskrit.

One day his parents took Nanacampantar to Madurai and worshipped Lord Somasundarar and Goddess Minatchi and stayed there for a few days. When the parents wanted to get back to Srivilliputtur, Nanacampantar firmly decided to stay back at Madurai and spend all the time in worship and prayer. The Lord blessed him with an image of Linga for his daily worship. Nanacampantar prayed that he should be properly initiated in Śiva worship by a Guru and to this, the Lord directed him in a dream to go to Tiruvarur and be a disciple of Nanappirakaca Tecikar. Accordingly he went to Tiruvarur and got initiated in Śiva worship by his Guru. He composed *Cokkanata venpa* in praise of the Lord at Madurai and Nanappirakaca malai in honour of his Guru at Tiruvarur.

One day out of intuition Nanappirakaca Tecikar asked Nanacampantar to go to Tarumapuram and establish a *matha* for the preservation and propagation of Śaiva Siddhanta and Śaivism. There was already a Śiva temple at Tarumapuram and Nanacampantar established his *matha* near the temple. Soon quite a number of disciples gathered around him and they were initiated into Śaiva religion and Siddhanta. As the founder of the *matha* the prefix 'guru' was added and thereafter he came to be called as Guru Nanacampantar. He wrote a few Śaiva Soddjamta works and went on pilgrimage to nearby shrines. The Śiva temple at Tarumapuram was handed over to the *matha* and Guru Nanacampantar added a shrine and installed in it a *linga* named after the Lord at Madurai—Cokkanata.

Before attaining bliss Guru Nanacampantar chose his own successor and the second head of the *matha* was Ananta Paravaca Tecikar. He was succeeded by Caccitananta Tecikar. The fourth head of the *matha* was Macilamani Tecikar during whose time

Kumarakuruparar, the founder of the Kaci *matha*, visited Tarumapuram. This provides us the clue to determine the date of the founding of the Tarumapuram *matha*.

Kumarakuruparar was a contemporary of the famous Nayak ruler of Madura-Tirumala Nayak. From the chronology of the Madura Nayaks we know definitely that Tirumala Nayak ruled from 1623 to 1659 A.D. Assuming that Kumarakuruparar visited Tirumala Nayak's court in 1630, we can arrive at the probable date of the first head of the Tarumapuram *matha* by deducting 90 years for the reign of the first three heads of the *matha*. Therefore, Guru Nanacampantar may be said to have founded the *matha* by 1540 A.D. or by the middle of the 16th century A.D.

Tiruppanantal Matha

This *matha* is situated near the Śiva temple at Tiruppanantal. It is about six miles north of Aduturai Railway Station in the Mayuram-Tanjavur line. Palmyra or *panai* is the sacred tree of the shrine and the name of the place is derived after the tree. The name of the Lord is cencatatyappar and that of the Goddess is Periyamayaki. Sambandar has sung *Tevaram* hymns in praise of the Lord of this shrine.

Kumarakuruparar, the founder of the *matha* was born at Srivaikuntam in Tirunelveli district. His father's name was Canmuka Cikamanik-Kavirayar and mother's name was Civakami Ammai. Kumarakuruparar was born dumb and hence his parents were much worried and prayed to God for their son to gain the power of speech. When he was five his parents one day took him to Tiruccentur temple and prayed to Lord Muruka. The Lord blessed him with the power of speech. Thereupon he composed *Kantar Kalivenpa* in praise of Lord Muruka.

Kumarakuruparar went on a pilgrimage to various Śiva temples in the Tamil country. When he visited Madurai he composed a *Pillai Tamil*, a form of composition with ten cantos, on Goddess Minakshi. The then Nayak ruler at Madurai-Tirumala Nayak (1623-59) was delighted on hearing the *Pillai Tamil* and honoured the poet with rich gifts. Then Kumarakuruparar went to Tiruchi and there also he was honoured by the local Nayak chieftain. Thereafter he visited the Tarumapuram *matha*.

Macilamani Tecikar, the fourth head of the Tarumapuram *matha*, received Kumarakuruparar and taught him several aspects of Śaiva Siddhānta. He ordained him as a priest or Guru and directed him to go on a pilgrimage to Banaras. When he reached Banaras he had the difficulty of communicating with the local Moghul chieftain because of the language barrier. Kumarakuruparar prayed to the Goddess of Learning for proficiency in Hindustani which was duly conferred upon him. The Moghul chieftain was impressed by the saintliness of Kumarakuruparar and at once sanctioned a site at Khedar Ghat on the Ganges to construct a *matha*. Accordingly, Kumarakuruparar established a *matha* which came to be called Kumaraswamy *matha* which continues to function till today. It is said that Kumarakuruparar lectured in Hindustani on Śaiva devotional literature and the audience included Thulsidas who had rendered Ramayana in Hindi.

One may wonder as to why a Tamil saint had to go all the way to establish a Śaiva *matha* at Banaras. Banaras is the most important sacred pilgrim centre for all Hindus.

From time immemorial pilgrims from the South have been visiting Banaras and other Śiva shrines in the North. This may have prompted some of the spiritual leaders like Macilamani Tectkar and Kumarakuruparar to think in terms of establishing a *matha* to cater to the needs of the pilgrims from the Tamil country. This *matha* continues to provide boarding and lodging facilities to Tamil pilgrims to this day.

The first-five successors of Kumarakuruparar are: Cokkanata Cuvami, Arunacala Cuvami, Ampalavana Cuvami, Catalyappa Cuvami and Tillainayaka Cuvami. It was during the headship of Tillainayaka Cuvami (1720-56 A.D.) that the Banaras *matha*'s headquarters was shifted to Tiruppanantal. Subsequently the Banaras *matha* came to be regarded as a branch of the Tiruppanantal *matha*. Since the *matha* was founded at Banaras (known as Kaci in Tamil) and since its spiritual heads spent several days at Banaras, they added the prefix Kacivaci, meaning 'resident of Banaras' to their names.

The reason for the shifting of the headquarters of the *matha* to Tiruppanantal is not known. It is likely that the spiritual heads who hailed from Tamilnadu found the extreme winter and summer climate unsuitable for their daily rituals. Secondly much of the property of the *matha* were endowed in the Tanjavur and Tirunelveli districts and in order to administer them effectively the headquarters might have been shifted to Tiruppanantal. Therefore, the Tiruppanantal *matha* can be said to have been founded by Kumarakuruparar even though the earlier site of the *matha* was Banaras. Hence the *matha* may be said to have been founded by the middle of the 17th century A.D.

From the preceding paragraphs the dates of the founding of the three *mathas* are discernible in the following order:

1. Tiruvavatutural *matha*— last quarter of the 15th century A.D.
2. Tarumapuram *matha*— middle of the 16th century A.D.
3. Tiruppanantal *matha*— middle of the 17th century A.D.

These three *mathas* were established in the Tanjavur district within a span of less than 200 years. These years in the later medieval period of Tamilnadu history were years of political instability which witnessed the rise and fall of the Sultanate, the Nayaks and the Marathas and the coming of the English East India Company. Frequent internecine wars not only disturbed the peace and prosperity of the land but also resulted in the neglect of Hinduism and Tamil literature. There were also challenges from the militant Islam and missionary-led Christianity. These *mathas* may have come into existence to defend Śaivism from the onslaught of the two alien religions and to keep up the Tamil literary tradition alive as much as the times permitted to do so. How far these three *mathas* met these challenges may have to be investigated by further detailed studies.

3

Śaiva Mysticism

Perhaps the most famous and profound stanza of the *Śaiva-Siddhānta Śāstras*, which has been highly praised by two wellknown Śaivite mystics of later period. Tāyumanavar and the author of the *Śivapōkacāram*, as giving the sum and substance of the whole Śaiva mysticism is the following.

Dispelling the ignorance of (empirical) knowledge, knowing without the knowledge (of *manas*) the (supreme) intelligence in the soul through grace, and seeing him without seeing (with bodily eyes), and without the conjunction of the internal organs of perception, if you melt in love (for God), then Śiva who is inseparable (from everything) will manifest himself to you in a special way, appearing himself in the manifold world, yet different from it all, every remaining unattached. (8.30).

Taking this verse as a guide-light in our attempt to describe as lucidly as possible the nature of the mystical experience, we note in it the following characteristics of that experience:

(a) Purgative way. Freedom from empirical knowledge and ignorance, freedom from the false identification of the self with the organs of perception, freedom from attachment and desires.

(b) Illuminative way. Intuitive knowledge, immanent or introverted realisation of God in the soul itself, Śiva's self-revelation as love.

(c) Unitive way. Intense love for God and God's love for soul, realisation of oneness, permanence in love.

(a) The Soul's Purgative Way, or its 'Dark Night'

The Soul in its inner essence stands in the relation of oneness with God without losing its own otherness and individuality. Now the mystical experience according to the *Śaiva Siddhānta* is nothing else but the realization on the conscious plane of this essential union of the soul with God. That means that the soul has first to be purified of all that stands in the way of such a realisation.

The first enemy to the realisation of the true nature of the soul in its state of union with God is ignorance (*anūṇam*), which arises out of empirical knowledge and causes bondage (8.27). *Pācāṇānam* itself is defined as knowledge obtained to only through the

senses but also through the Veda, Āgamas, and Śāstras (9.2). *Pacūñānam* is the kind of knowledge of the soul implied in the *ahambrahmāsmi* experience, and this experience Arulnanti considers to be born of self-love (*kātalindū nūn piraman ennum nānam*) (*ibid*). As God transcends human speech, thought, or action (*ceyal vāṅku cintaiy ellān aramaiy aṇukā*), he cannot be reached by these two kinds of knowledge (9.4). The ultimate reason for this is that whatever is known by the human mind (*manas*) is perishable and changeable and hence unreal (*acit*) (6.5). God, who is eternal, unchangeable, Supreme Reality, can only be known by divine wisdom (*patiñānam*), which is a free gift of God (6.6). Therefore the soul has to regard alluring empirical experience as a mirage and get freed from its hold (9.1).

As the internal organs of perception (*antahkaraṇas*) are instrumental in identifying the soul with either one or all of them, the soul has to be purified from this knowledge by means of the guru's instruction and God's grace, both obtainable through *bhakti*.

In such a condition the divine grace also burns away in the soul all self-centred experience, such as the feeling of 'I' and of 'mine', self-assertions like 'I did this'; the soul is thus enabled to lead a God-centred life (10.2, 6.8).

Bhakti finally also aids the soul to become divested of attachment (*parṇu*) to the self and the world and of the desire to enjoy experience of the world. Once its identification with the empirical world is removed, the soul becomes possessed of the true knowledge of its union with God; purged of its attachment of the experience of the phenomenal world, it becomes attached to God.

(b) The Illuminative Way

Here we have to determine the nature of *patiñānam*, in order to understand the type of mystical experience that is proper to theistic Śaivism.

First of all, the liberating *nānam* is said to be God's gift to *bhaktas* (6.6). All the ascetical and spiritual practices of a *bhakta* do not by themselves confer *jñāna*, but only dispose him to receive it as a gift from God (*aruṇāle kāṇpan*) (*ibid*). The eye that sees all cannot see itself; the internal senses can know neither themselves, nor the soul through the agency of which they know; the soul that knows objects cannot know itself, nor the God through whose *Śakti* it knows and who is in fact identified with it. Hence Śiva, the all-seer, manifests himself to the soul and enables it to perceive mystically his own true form (9.5). He imparts knowledge not only in the form of the gracious guru but also by illuminating the *bhaktas'* understanding from within, revealing his true nature by means of grace; this is recognized in Śaivism as the descent of divine grace in varying degree in accordance with the degree of *bhakti* one possesses (8.1 and 2).

Secondly, this *jñāna* is by nature intuitive. This is proved by the fact that, whichever knowledge implies duality or distinction belongs to empirical experience, the nature of which is to become bound in a body, to know objects from outside agents, and that, too, one after another (9.2). If soul were to realise God as different from itself, namely as an object distinct from the knowing subject, then it would not know the real God, because whatever is known as a distinct object is *asat*, perishable and changing, in brief, pertains to empirical knowledge. Again, it is by divine *jñāna* that the soul can realize the non-distinction of knowing, known, and knower (*nāna, nēyamotu nātiruvum nāṭavanṇam*), and

become one with Śiva (*civanuṭanām perri*) (8.22). Hence this *jñāna* has to be intuitive, i.e. immediate, non-objective, non-dual, insight into the nature of God.

Thirdly, the experience of *patiññānam* is introverted; the divine illumination and realisation take place within the soul itself. Since the soul cannot know God as other than itself, and the soul itself is divine because of its radical union with God through *aruḷ-catti*, the soul's intuitive realisation is of that God who dwells in every man as the soul of his soul (6.6).

Fourthly, by the supreme *jñāna* God manifests himself as Love (*aruḷ uruvāy*) (6.6) and as one who is deeply in love with his *bhakta*. This idea will be taken up for further consideration.

Fifthly, *jñāna* itself is further determined when Arulnanti describes the four forms or characteristics of *jñāna*: listening with rapt attention to the words of wisdom (*kēṭṭal*), meditating on them (*cintittal*), clearly perceiving the truth (*teṭital*), and the state of *samādhi* (*niṭṭai kiṭṭal*) (8.24). *Samādhi* is reached by the practice of a particular *upāsana*, which is further explained thus. The *jñānin* perceives the truth that everything is in God and God in everything (*ellām iṇaṇ itattininum iṇaṇ ellā itattininum ninra*); he controls his inner senses, practices what his Guru has graciously taught him, and reaches the God who is immanent in his soul (*mannu civan lanaiy aṭaintu ninra*). Reaching God, his human faculties will be converted into divine faculties (*maruvu paṇu karanaiṇkaḷ civaḷkaranamāka*). As he progresses in the realisation of God even in his waking condition, his *śivānubhava* (experience of God) will become *svānubhūti* (self-apprehension) (8.34).

(c) the Unitive Way

The technical word used to express the mystical union is *sāyujya* (conjunction). Its Tamil equivalents in the *Cittiyār* are *kalappu* (lit. 'to mix', 'to interpenetrate'; 8.31, 9.7), *pruṇṭutal* (lit. 'to fit', 'to join'; 8.37), and *kūṭutal* (lit. 'to intermingle', 'to unite'; 9.5). Both Sanskrit and Tamil expressions signify union between two distinct beings and exclude the notion of one losing its identity in another. The Śaiva Ācāryas repeatedly assert this in all their writings. Arulnanti makes his mind clear on this point when he explains the sense in which the soul is and is not God. With regard to the advaitin's affirmation, 'One only', he argues that such an affirmation implies a distinction between what is affirmed and the one who affirms, and that therefore God is distinct from soul. Yet he is not different from it in the sense that he is inseparably united with it and is ever present in it; thus the soul is said to be Śivam (*arivin uḷḷē enrum ninritutalālē ivan avan ennalāmē*) (6.9).

This relation of oneness and difference lasts also in the state of mystical experience and final emancipation. Arulnanti's explanation of the true meaning of *tattvamasī* substantiates this position. Knowing the self as different from the world and God, and yet meditating 'I am He' because of God's intimate union with it, the self becomes consciously united with him, and God himself will appear to it as one with itself. That is why the Vedas teach us to practise 'I am He' (9.7)? At no time can the soul think or act without the aid of God's grace; the Lord entering the soul actuates its thought and action and is ever present to it, like the first vowel 'A' in all letters. This inseparable union between God

and soul is consciously experienced and lived in the mystical state (11.7). Every man on becoming a *jīvanmukta* unites with the Supreme Being (*kannutaltan niraiv atanir kalantu*) and becomes, like God, all-pervasive (*enitumāykarutaranpōl nirpan*) (8.31). The union with God ■ such that neither will ever leave the other (*avan ivarai ivar avanai viṭāte uṭantaiyāc caikaranōtu okka uraintu*); abiding in him, the *jīvanmukta* will perceive only God in everything (*civan tōrram onrunē kānpar*) (8.29).

The mystical union is lived and possessed in deep love for God. Indeed, the mystical state itself is defined as that of love which results from intuitive vision of God (*patinānattālē uḷattē nāti nēcamoṭm pāta nilarkil nil...*) (9.1). Those who dwell in the feet of the Lord (*jīvanmuktas*) will never lose their *samādhi* (mystical union), on account of their steadfast and continuous love (*necamoṭum tiruvaṭikkāl nīkāṭē tūnkum ninaivuṭaiyōr ninriṭuvār nilaiyatuvēyāki*) (8.39). Blissful union with the Lord is itself rendered possible if they love him in humble submission (*kacinta tonṭinoṭm uḷattu avantān ninra kalappāl...*) (9.7). As they make love (*anpu ceyya*) to God, all their impurity will disappear (11.1). The important thing here is that this supreme love of God is not a blind or merely emotional love but is saturated with knowledge (*ariv uṭaiyamāy anpu ceyya* 'make love with the possession of knowledge') (*ibid.*). The highest *jñāna* consists in realizing how loving God is and how great one's love should be towards such a lover.

This love also includes humble submission and loyal service (*paṇi*) to God. In the state of union with God (*aran paṇiyin ninriṭavum*) (10.1). He lovingly dedicates himself to Śiva (*Śivārpaṇa*); he consecrates all his acts to him (*en ceyal ellām un vitiyē enrum*) and considers his acts as God's (*un ceyalē enrum*) (10.4). Out of the abundance of love for God he renders loving service to other *bhaktas*, for it is said that those who do not love God's devotees love neither God nor themselves (*aṭiyavarkku anpu illār iṇanukku anpu illār... tamakkum anpu illār*) (12.2).

Śivāgra Yogin rightly interprets the statements of Arulnanti concerning the mystic's humble submission and service to God in the sense of *prapatti*, which means giving up agency for deeds and acting under the influence of God. Hence we are forced to investigate briefly the nature of *prapatti* as proposed in Hinduism, and especially by Rāmānuja, ■ greatest exponent. The word *prapatti* derives from *pra-pad* which means 'to betake oneself to', 'to seek the help of', 'to take refuge with', and implies the belief that salvation is a free gift (*prasāda*) of God. It has the same meaning as *śaraṇāgati* (seeking refuge, coming for protection).

Already in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* the word occurs in its verbal form: *bahūmān janmanām ante jñānavān mān prapadyate*, 'at the end of many births the man of knowledge finds refuge in me' (7.19). In the famous *carama śloka* (18.66) which Vaiṣṇavas look upon as containing the quintessence of the teaching of the *Gītā*, we have: *sarvadharmān parityajya mām ekaṁ śaraṇam vraja*, 'renouncing (the fruit of) every duty, come to me alone for refuge'.

In the *Pāñcarātra*, *Ahīrbudhnyā Sāmhita*, *prapatti* occurs in various contexts. First in discussion of its meaning in invocations like *om namo viṣṇave*, the word *namas* is declared to signify in the 'gross' sense *prapatti* (self-surrender); and in the 'subtle sense the word

namas is analysed into *na*, *ma*, and *s*, which together represent the sentence: 'No (*na*) selfish regard (*manya*) for one's own self and one's own (*svasmin svīye ca*)'; this is the well-known Sāṅkhya formula, *nāsmi na me nāham* (51/41. 52.2-33). Second, *prapatti* is taken to mean 'seeking the protection of God' (*phalepsā tad-virodhinī*) (52.15). Third, *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* is proposed as the means of winning God's grace (ch. 27). Finally, *Śaraṇāgati* itself is defined as 'prayer for God's help in association with the conviction of one's being merged in sin and guilt, together with a belief in one's absolute helplessness and a sense of being totally lost without the protecting grace of God' (37.30-1). The person who practises *prapatti* has a keen sense of his absolute dependence on God, of his own absolute helplessness. By such an attitude of mind he achieves the fruit of all *tapas*, offerings, and attains salvation easily, without resort to other means (37.34-5). As we see, these texts appear to overemphasize the helplessness of the soul without the aid of God, and give the impression that while God does everything for salvation, souls are merely passive recipients.

Rāmānuja defines *prapatti* 'as a state of readiness to pray to God, associated with the deep conviction that he alone is the Saviour, and that there is no other way of attaining his grace except by such self-surrender.' Further, he observes in his *Gadyatraya* that the attitude of *prapatti* also includes the willingness to confess one's sins, shortcomings, and dereliction, and the feeling appropriate to a helpless servant of God anxious to be saved by grace. The whole doctrine of *prapatti* according to Rāmānuja can be summed up as absolute self-surrender: it is 'to follow the will of God, not to cross his purpose, to believe that he will save, to seek help from him and him alone, and to yield up one's spirit to him in all meekness'. There does not seem to be a great difference between *bhakti* and *prapatti* according to Rāmānuja. He even makes *prapatti*, in the sense of surrender and self-abandonment to God, an essential feature of *bhakti* also in its final stages.

Thus, the doctrinal differences between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism notwithstanding, we see that a wholehearted self-surrender to God (*prapatti*) as proposed by Rāmānuja is the same as the self-dedication (*arpaṇa*, *samarpaṇa*) and humble service (*pari*) advocated by Arulnanti. With regard to the later discussion as whether *prapatti* implies the soul's mere passivity in the work of salvation, like that of the kitten carried by its mother in its mouth (*mārjāra nyāya*, *tenkalai*, Southern School), or the soul's active cooperation, like that of the young monkey clinging to its mother when carried about (*markṭa nyāya*, *vaṭakalai*, Northern School), I am inclined to think that the Siddhāntin would favour the Northern School's opinion, because of his insistence on the liberated soul's constant active contemplation of, and dedicated service to, God.

God, on his part, entering the *bhakta*'s soul fills it with boundless love, and by his love grants it the greatest happiness and makes it participate in him (9.6). This participation is so intimate that God is said to become the soul itself (*avan ivanāy ninru*) (10.1). As the mystic thinks more and more of God and realises intuitively God's love, God gradually enters his heart (*uḷḷattē vara vara vantaṭuvam*), just as light 'enters' the mirror, and the more the mirror is cleaned of its stains, the finer is its reflection (9.10).

4

Śaiva Nāgārjuna

Several great person under the name Nāgārjuna appeared in our country. The most prominent one among them is the famous teacher of the *Mādhyamika* school of Buddhism who lived in the South and stayed in Kashmir for some years about the time of the fourth Buddhist conference arranged there by Kaniṣka. It is on such account that Kalhaṇa took him as a *bodhisattva* belonging to Kashmir and living at Śaḍarhadvana, the modern Hāravan.

Next famous Nāgārjuna is the master of Indian medicinal chemistry whose several works on the subject are known. The third famous Nāgārjuna is an important teacher of *Vajrayāna* school of Tāntric Buddhism. Śarahā, alias Rāhulabhadra, was a Buddhist monk of the *Vijñānavāda* school who learnt Tāntric *sādhana* of Kaula system from some Tantric teacher in the line of Macchandanaṭha of Assam. He practised it well and attained sufficient success in its practice. After that he presented it as a mystic school of Buddhism. He took great care in eliminating two fundamental principles of Kaula Śaivism and those are (i) the principle of theism and (ii) the principles of the existence of Ātman as a permanently existing controller of the flux of momentary mind. Besides, he translated all the technical terms of Kaulism into Buddhist terminology and presented Tāntric Kaulism in such a way that it appeared as a school of Buddhism. Such efforts of Śarahā were afterwards taken up by a monk in the line of his disciples and the name of that monk also was Nāgārjuna who built further the Vajrayāna of Śarahā and carried it to a climax of development. His followers are still living in great number in Tibet and Mongolia and their Vajrayāna Buddhism is known at present as Lāmāism.

Kashmirian folklore has one more Nāgārjuna, a hero belonging to some Nāga tribe who fell in love with an Aryan damsel named Himāl. This Nāgārjuna is popularly known as Nāgīrāy. A Kashmirian poet uses the name Nāgīarzun for him. He does not have any importance in the fields of philosophy or theology but is popular in folk lore and poetry.

The greatest in merit is one more Nāgārjuna who is even now known very little to scholars and is totally unknown to public. He is Śaivāchārya Nāgārjuna. If the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna is highly advanced in subtle logic and if the Vajrayāna Nāgārjuna has extensive works to his credit, this forgotten Śaiva Nāgārjuna is much more definite about the nature of the ultimate reality, realised directly by him through the highest type of

Yogic experiences. Both the Buddhist Nāgārjuna teach the truth as revealed to them in the state of *Susupti*, an extremely dreamless sleep, and this Śaiva philosopher expresses it as it shines in the fourth state of animation known as *Turyā*, the state of intuitive self-revelation. His works reveal him to be a Śaiva philosopher belonging to the school of monistic Śaivism of Kashmir. Two beautiful philosophic lyrics from his pen are available at present and those are *Paramārcana-triṃśikā* and *cittasantosa-triṃśikā*.

There was a tradition among Śaiva-Śākta philosophers to express philosophy through the medium of poetry. Three hymns of such type are attributed to sage Durvāsas and those are—(i) *Para-sambhu-mahima-stotra*, (ii) *Lalitā-stava-ratna*, and (iii) *Triparā-mahima-stotra*. *Cidgagan-acandrikā* of Śrīvatsam, alias Kalidasa, and *Kramastotra* of Siddhanātha alias Sambhunātha, are two more such works, *Subhagodaya* of Gandapāda and *Suandaryalahari* of Sankarāchārya as well as *Pāñcastavi* of Dharmāchārya show that these philosophers also adhered to Śaiva/Śākta tradition in their practice.

Some very prominent teachers of Kashmir Śaivism expressed subtle and profound philosophic principles through an appealing technique of poetic medium. The most important works of such type are: *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, *Tattvagarbhasloka* of Bhaṭṭapradyumna and *Sivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva. Abhinavagupta composed several beautiful works of such type and the important ones among them are: *Anubhava-nivedana-stotra*, *Anutlārāśīkā*, *Bhairavastotra*, *Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* and *Kramastotra*. *Śivajīva-daśaka* of Śāhib Kaula is another very important lyric of such type. The above mentioned two lyrics of Śaiva Nāgārjuna also are two highly beautiful poetic works of that very type. These are highly sweeter than any other such works.

No quotations from either of these two lyrics of Nāgārjuna are available in any work of any ancient Kashmirian author of Śaivism. The only quotation that has so far been traced by the writer of these lines is a verse from *Paramārcana-triṃśikā* and has been quoted by Maheśvarānanda in his *Parimala* on his own *Mahārtha-mañjarī* and that quotation is:

Bālikā-racita-vastra putrikā-
Kriḍanena sadṛśaṃ tadarcanaṃ;
Yatra śāmyati mano na nirmalam
Sphīta-cijjaladhi-madhyamāśritam.

(P. Tr. 1)

The editor of that work has tried to prove that Maheśvarānanda flourished in the fourteenth century. A.D. The time of Śaiva Nāgārjuna may have been the thirteenth century. Had it been still earlier he would have been surely quoted by Utpalā Vaiṣṇava in the tenth century or by Jayaratha in the twelfth. Nothing can however be said definitely on such a point at present.

As for the domicile of this Śaiva Nāgārjuna, some people think that he lived in Kashmir because: (i) the manuscripts of his poems were found at Srinagar, and (ii) his philosophic ideas agree with those of Kashmir Śaivism. But *Pāñcastavi* of Dharmāchārya is popular in Kashmir though he belonged to Kerala. *Mahārthamanjari* of Mahasvarānanda

agrees with the principles of Kashmir Śaivism but the author lived in Cola country. This Nāgārjuna is still known very little even in Kashmir. A new fact has recently come to the notice of the writer of these lines in this respect. There is a sacred place of worship near the temple of Sri Jwālāmukhī in Kaṅgrā which is known as the place of *Siddha-Nāgārjuna*. Kaṅgrā was an important centre of Śaiva-Śākta learning and was famous under the name 'Jālandhara pīṭha,' one of the four main centres of Śāktism. A great master of Kula and Trika systems of Śaivism lived at Jālandharapīṭha in the tenth century. He was the great teacher Śāmbhunātha, who was the greatest living authority on these two systems of practical Śaivism.

Abhinavagupta refers to his authority on the secrets of Triks Sādhana in his *Tantrāloka* not less than twenty-two times while giving decisions on some controversial topics. He has been referred to as the moon that raises tides in the ocean of Trika Śāstra *Trikārtihāmbhodhī-cāndranāḥ*. It is highly probable that the Śaiva Nāgārjuna was Kaṅgrā, having forgotten even the name of such a great philosopher as Śāmbhunātha, do not know anything about his Śaiva Nāgārjuna, but the place of worship, known under his name, suggests beyond doubt that he practiced Śaiva Yoga and attained remarkable success in its practice at the sacred place concerned.

The two hymns of Nāgārjuna, being full of poetic beauty, can be classed with the best religio-philosophic lyrics. The language of the hymns is beautiful, simple and sweet. The poetic element in them is very effective and attractive and the philosophic element is not at all less in its importance. Each hymn contains thirty stanzas and an additional one which concludes it with a partial mention of the name of the poet philosopher. The colophones in both mention him as a *Mahāmāheśvara Acārya Nāgārjuna*.

Paramārcana-trimsikā is a poetic description of the finest Śaiva/Śākta method of realization of the self, by the self and through the self. It can be compared with the *Pārā-pūjā* of the Kaula system of Śāktism, on one hand, and also with the highest method of yoga of the Trika system of Kashmir Śaivism, on the other hand. This act strengthens the inference aimed at proving his faith in the practical and theoretic aspects of Kashmir Śaivism, because both Kaula and Trika systems of practice were popular with the Śaivas of Kashmir right from the time of Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa. the merits and the wonderful results of that supreme worship (Paramārcana) have been described vividly and variously and have at the same time been compared with tasteless and torturing practices in Hathayoga and Brahmanic penance. Such comparisons are highly poetical in their expression. The poem is composed in the metre named *Rathoddhātā* upto the twenty-ninth stanza. The thirtieth is in *Vasantatilakā* metre and the concluding one is an *Anuṣṭubh*.

Cittā-santoṣa-trimsikā is composed in *Vasantatilakā*. Its thirtieth stanza is in *Harinī* metre and the concluding one is an *Anuṣṭubh*. The hymn contains a poetic description of the state of *Jīvanmukti* attained through the perfect and correct realisation of the real character of the self. It compares in various ways the blissfulness of that state with the miseries of the previous state of bondage and the comparisons drawn are philosophically quite accurate and poetically highly effective, and attractive. The poet addresses the verses of the hymn to his own mind and congratulates it joyfully on its having attained, beyond all expectations, what was really worthy to be attained.

There is no doubt in the fact that the author, Nāgārjuna, belonged to the line of the teachers of the monistic school of Śaivism known as the *Ardhatryanibaka* school started by *Tryambakāditya* I through his daughter sometime in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. and popularized highly by Śambhunatha at the *Jālandhara-piṭha* (Kangra) in the 10th century. It is on such account that both of his poems agree with the principles and doctrines of the Trika school of Śaiva monism. Parallels can be found between the Stanzas of these two hymns of Nāgārjuna, on one hand, and passages from some very important works on Kashmir Śaivism, on the other hand. For instance, let us examine *paramārcanatrimsikā*.

Verse No. 12, depicting the emotion of an absolute wonder, experienced in *Parā-pujā*, can be compared with Śivasūtra-I-12 and also with *Spandakārikā*-11. A parallel to the verse No. 15, depicting the experience of the state of liberation, even while one indulges in worldly sensual activities, can be found in *Mālini-vijaya-Vārtika*-II-108-09. Verse No. 24, suggesting the pantheistic outlook of the author, agrees with the *Parādvaita* principle expressed in *Bodhapāñcadasikā*-14 of Abhinavagupta. The twenty-eighth stanza, describing the attitude of a Śivayogin at the highest stage of *Śāmbhava-yoga*, agrees with the first two stanzas of *Anuttarāṣṭikā* of the same author. The twenty-sixth stanza hints towards the *Śaktipāta* principle of Kashmir Śaivism as expressed in *Mālini-vijaya-vārtika* I-697, 98. The eighth verse, depicting the power of a Śivayogin to swallow even the God of death, has parallels in *Bhairavastotra*-4, 5 of Abhinavagupta and in *Śivājīva-daśaka*-5 of Śāhib Kaula.

Similar agreements with works on Kashmir Śaivism can be found in *Citta-santosa-trimsikā* as well. For instance: Its fourth and fifth verses, depicting the view of an advanced Śivayogin with respect to objects of sensual enjoyment, agree with *Mālini-vijaya-vārtika*-I-108, 109 referred above. The sixth one, suggesting a criticism on some torturing and austere practices of monks and *haṭhayogins*, can be compared with *Śivastotravali*-1-1, 18 of Utpaladeva. The verse No. 11, depicting a viewpoint through which a Yogin tastes his natural blissfulness even in some painful mundane experiences, agrees with the view of Utpaladeva as expressed by him in the same work-XX-12. The same can be observed with respect to the verse No. 24. The verse No. 26 hints towards a Yogic practice of the Kaula system of Śivayoga and has a parallel in a passage of *Śrī-rājikā* quoted in *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, p. 55.

No trace of any principle or doctrine of any school of Buddhism can be found anywhere in any of these two hymns of this Śaiva Nāgārjuna. Some selected phrases from his poems, given below, strengthen his being a staunch Śaiva aspirant:

- (i) Śivasangamotsavaḥ (P. Tr. 3);
- (ii) Śivārcanam (*Ibid.*, 30);
- (iii) Śivabhaktibhājam, (*Ibid.*, 30);
- (iv) Para-niruttara-Śaiva sampat (C.S. Tr. 14);
- (v) Svachanda-Sankara-pade (*Ibid.*, 23).

The doctrines of practical Śaivism, as hinted at in the two poems of this Śaiva

Nāgārjuna, do neither agree with the austere and ridiculous practices of *Pāśupata Śaivas*, nor with the formal and ritualistic methods of *Śiddhānta Śaiva*, nor with objective Linga-worship of *Viśvaśaivas*. The spontaneous and sweet yoga practices of this Nāgārjuna agree fully with those of the Trika system and partly with Kaula system also, but do not have any agreement either with *Vāma* or with *Dakṣiṇa* systems of Tāntric *Sādhana*.

Such fact strengthens further the view that the philosopher poet belonged to the Kashmirian school of Śaiva monism because the teachers of that very school patronised only the Trika and Kaula systems of *Sādhana*.

5

Śaiva Sects in the Skanda Purāṇa

As far as the philosophical thoughts are concerned, the Purāṇas seldom give, in their bulk, a systematic treatment of the subject; but they can certainly be said to present some views of different sects of religious philosophy in a more systematic manner. One comes across, in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (SKP), different sects of Śaivism which developed side by side with the development of that Purāṇa. It is intended in this paper to take a short review of (1) the Kāpālīka and Kālāmukha sects, and of (2) Vira-Śaivism, as reflected in the SKP.

The Kāpālīka and the Kālāmukha Sects

The SKP contains several references to Kāpālīka and Kālāmukha—the two anti-Vedic schools of Śaivism. Kāpālīkas believe that the wearing of the six *mudrikās* or badges viz., a necklace, ornament, ear-ornament, crest-jewel, ashes and the thread (*yajñopavīta*) is a religious means of accomplishing the highest goal of human life. The Kālāmukhas seem to have been so called because they marked their foreheads with black streaks. They hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next—(i) Eating food in a skull, (ii) Besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body, (iii) Eating the ashes, (iv) Holding a club, (v) Keeping a pot of wine, (vi) Worshipping God as seated therein. These sects were very popular in India about 8th century A.D.

These Kāpālīkas and the Kālāmukhas, whether they were Brāhmaṇic or non-Brahmaṇic, indulged in horrid practices; they drank, indulged in sex, and lived in an unclean manner. It is doubtful whether they had any kind of philosophy of life excepting the worship of Bhairava, the destroyed who also created the world and maintained it. They did not believe in Karma. They believed in minor divinities performing various functions in world creation and maintenance according to the will of Bhairava. The Śūdra Kāpālīkas did not believe in caste system and all these Kāpālīkas ate meat and drank wine in skulls as part of their rituals. They used to observe Māhāvratā or Kāpālāvratā—the great vow that consists in eating food served in a human skull and smearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others. The favourite place of their movement was generally the cremation ground.

These Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas are mentioned several times in the SKP. Not only the name of these followers occurs in tells us that these people were altogether uncultural, always engaged in the horrid practices of drinking etc. They were always against the Vedas. For them eating food in a human skull is the best religious act. They are always found begging and possessed human skulls as their ornaments.

They wore matted hair on their foreheads, trident in their hands, and used to roam about in cremation grounds. The references are also made here to the Kapālavrata which these people used to observe. It has been called here by different names such as Mahāpāśupata-vrata, Rudra-vrata or Mahā-vrata. The SKP states that it is very difficult to observe this *vrata* and one who follows this *vrata*, all his sins are destroyed. This Mahā-vrata is supposed to be related by Śiva himself. The SKP describes, in its Bhairavāṣṭka, the Bhairava or furious form of Śiva, and presents him in his inauspicious Kāpālin form, always residing in cremation ground.

The SKP further represents Bhairava under the names Bhairava Bhūtanātha and Kāla-Bhairava. He is shown either without clothes or putting on a single garment. Thus most of the doctrines of this sect are found in the SKP.

Vira-Śaivism as Found in the Skanda-Purāṇa

The foundation of this sect is generally attributed to Bāsava who was the son of Mādīrāja. Vira Śaivism means the Śaivism of stalwarts or the heroic Śaivism. It is also called Liṅgāyata on account of the fact that its followers wear a *liṅga* on their person. The Vira Śaiva philosophy is known as Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita, a term which means that the non-duality of God is qualified by his power Śakti. According to this system, therefore, God and the soul form inseparable union through the power called Śakti. This system is popularly known for the use of the technical terms like *sthala*, *liṅga* and *aṅga*. It further glorifies the doctrine of Śatsthala and asks its followers to observe the eight rules.

As far as the SKP is concerned, it does not show any systematic attempt to explain the Vira-Śaiva system but it only points out to some of its doctrines scattered here and there and intermingled with the doctrine of other systems. As according to Vira-Śaiva philosophy, so according to SKP also, God who is 'Parā-Śiva' is the ultimate cause of the world. 'Parā-Śiva' is without any name and form. He is subtler than the subtlest and greater than the greatest. He is full of knowledge and can be realised through knowledge alone. Śiva is the creator, protector and the destroyer of this world and this world is pervaded by him alone. His peculiar qualities mentioned in the SKP are knowledge, bliss, lustre, purity etc.

The individual soul is part of Śiva in the sense that it proceeds from Śiva, partakes of his essence and finds rest in him. But on account of ignorance it imagines itself to be different from him. When ignorance is destroyed, it realises its dependence on Śiva. Thus, the soul is neither different from nor identical with Śiva. The relation between the two is the difference-cum-non-difference. The ultimate goal of the soul is the realisation of the relation between the soul and the Parā-Śiva. All the qualities of Śiva attributed to him in

this system are found in the SKP. Śiva, out of his own will, becomes divided into Liṅga and Aṅga. The Liṅga-worship is frequently referred to in the SKP. Though Śiva is Nirguṇa, yet his Saguṇa form is the Liṅga. The Liṅga is the greatest religion and the Liṅga is the final abode of the being. Another term used in Vira-Śaiva system is 'Aṅga' standing for Jiva, this term is nowhere mentioned in the SKP, though the whole universe has been regarded as part of God Śiva.

As far as the process of creation is concerned, Parā-Śiva does not suffer any change or culmination in creating this universe. The creation takes place through Śakti which is his inseparable attribute.

In the process of creation as Śiva divides himself into Liṅga and Aṅga, so Śakti also divides herself into Kalā and Bhakti. Kalā is responsible for the protection of the world from Śiva, while Bhakti leads the soul back to Śiva. This Bhakti of Śiva is referred to again and again in the SKP. According to Vira-Śaiva system human beings who are desirous of attaining the final emancipation, have been asked to observe the eight fold path. Among these Path rules, four are referred to in the SKP. The first one among these is the wearing of a rosary as necklace by the Śiva Bhakta. The second one is the smearing of ashes on the body, which is regarded as capable of destroying all sins of mortal beings. The third one is the muttering of the five-syllable *mantra* of Śiva (*namah śivāya*). it is called here as Pañcakṣaravidyā. The fourth is the Liṅga worship which has already been referred to.

6

Śaiva Siddhānta

Truths constituting the Śaiva Siddhānta system are expounded in the Vedas and Śaivāgamas. Since these Scriptures are meant for souls at various levels of spiritual advancement, the revelations contained therein rank in a hierarchical order. The highest of these is that disclosed to the Śaiva Siddhāntin, who for that reason claims that his system is the 'Accomplished End.' According to this supreme revelation, there are the three *padārthas*, God, soul and matter, which are the ultimate principles of the universe. If valid knowledge of these ultimate realities is to be attained, it is of great importance to scrutinise the instruments whereby knowledge is attained to see that they are genuine means of approach to truth.

The instrument of valid knowledge is named 'pramāṇa' by the Siddhāntin. This term, which is used by other schools as well, comes to have a very distinctive sense in the hands of the Siddhāntin; and unless a good deal of what is significant in his epistemology is to be missed, it is important to know this term as differentiated from the sense it has in certain other systems. As defined by certain thinkers, 'pramāṇa' is the means of knowledge. As defined by the Siddhāntin, however, *pramāṇa* is that instrument of knowledge whatever becomes absence of which no object of knowledge whatever becomes known. The grounds in which he is obliged to offer this definition as superseding the other are set forth. Should 'pramāṇa' be understood as the 'means of knowledge' then the sense organs and even outside accessories, such as light etc., would claim to be *pramāṇas*. These help to attain knowledge, but they are not indispensable. The Siddhāntin's desire for such preciseness cannot be explained away as whimsical.

It becomes necessary to confine oneself to what is indispensable, as otherwise, the attempt to embrace every element that serves as a means to knowledge in whatever way cannot stop until the whole of the universe is embraced, so that the distinction between means of knowledge and object of knowledge gets annulled. By a process of elimination, the Siddhāntin excludes whatever falls short of his norm. The senses of sight, hearing etc., come short of the requirement set up by the Siddhāntin because though the sense of sight plays a part in the process of seeing, it is not required in the process of hearing; and this latter, again, may drop out in the process of factual perception. Thus in the case of all senses, it can be proved that none of them is an indispensable instrument of knowledge.

Further, the senses are inferred through their effects, sound etc., and being thus objects of inferential cognition, they cannot themselves be instruments of knowledge.

The claim of being an indispensable instrument of knowledge cannot be made even for *Buddhi*, which appears to be invariably present in all processes of cognition. For in those cognitions where *Buddhi* itself is the object cognised, it cannot serve in the two-fold capacity of an object of knowledge and an instrument of knowledge. The object of knowledge and *pramāṇa* being mutually exclusive, the one cannot be the other. The claim made for *buddhi*, that in its essential nature it is not an object of knowledge, cannot be allowed, for being an evolute of *prakṛti*, it is non-intelligent; and the condition of anything inert not being an object of knowledge, is as non-existent as the horns of a here.

Thus when all the sense organs, which to the *Siddhāntin* are mere auxiliaries to knowing, are ruled out, it may yet be contended that, though individually the *Karaṇas* have failed to be instruments of knowledge in the more precise sense of the *Siddhāntin*, yet the conjunction of all these, could be a *pramāṇa*. In considering this possibility, the *Siddhāntin* points out that such an assemblage of conditions could not be permitted unless the distinctions of knower, known and knowledge are to be ignored.

Though judged by the norm of an instrument of knowledge without which no object of knowledge can be known, the senses, *buddhi* and the conjunction of all these are to be passed over, there is yet one residual means that promises to stand the test. This is self-luminous *cit-śakti*, or intelligence, free from doubt and error. Of this alone it can be said that it is that instrument of knowledge without which no object of knowledge can be known. This distinctive feature of being an instrument of knowledge cannot characterise it unless at the same time it be also intelligent, and be not an object of knowledge. The supreme nature of *cit-śakti* with reference to the *karaṇas* is brought out by the expression, 'I see.' Here the sense organ is shewn to be merely an auxiliary. Such auxiliaries find their place in the process of cognition because *cit-śakti* is beginninglessly associated with *mala*. If this limitation did not exist for the intelligence, these *Karaṇas* would not be required. However, their office is but for a time. When *cit-śakti* is freed of obscuring impurities these *Karaṇas* would have no need to continue.

So long, however, as it continues to be *mala*-covered, *cit-śakti* is obliged to function with accessories. As these accessories are numerous and varied, as are also the objects of knowledge, in any particular cognition, the intelligence together with certain accessories etc., makes a combination different from that obtained in yet a different cognition when *cit-śakti* works with the help of other *karaṇas*, forming a different setting. These various combinations, into which *cit-śakti* enters when cognising objects, are the subsidiary *pramāṇas* recognised by the *Siddhānta*.

Of these, certain thinkers discriminate three, others six and still others ten. The *pramāṇas* that have gained recognition at the hands of all groups are the following:

Śabda, Anumāna, Pratyakṣa

The supreme place is given to *śabda-pramāṇa* because the Śaivāgamas are the authority for knowledge concerning the entities of *Paṭi*, *paśu* and *pāśa*, made known to

the Śaiva Siddhānta system. These scriptures are wholly reliable as Śiva Himself is their author, and His intelligence being free from obscuring impurities, is able to function without any foreign accessory. To attain true knowledge, the Siddhāntin must get his instruction from an ācārya. To attain true knowledge, the Siddhāntin must get his instruction from an Ācārya. If it be asked whether the ācārya, who though leading a dedicated life, and well-versed in all the scriptures, can be entirely depended on by the disciple for giving him valid knowledge alone, it is replied that the Ācārya is Śiva Himself, who is omniscient Śiva has no body, but for the sake of bestowing grace on His creatures, appears in the form of a guru to the advanced souls in the class of sakalas. As Śiva takes on this form for instructing souls, the terms 'Guru' and 'Śiva' are used interchangeably so that by Śiva is meant the Guru, and by Guru is meant Śiva.

Śabda-pramāṇa is thus the highest means of attaining true knowledge. There is no need to revolt against giving the highest place to *śabda-pramāṇa* as there is no cleavage between śruti and reason. In fact, the Ācārya recognises that every faculty of the disciple should be called into play in his search for truth; and hence, he himself urges the disciple to discover for himself whether what is taught him can stand the light of reason, testing every statement made, by all the criteria known to him. If the disciple tried merely to accumulate unquestioningly what is taught him, he would get little profit from this, as he would soon forget what he had heard; moreover, such knowledge would soon be undermined by doubts that rise in every thing mind. If, on the other hand, he tested the validity of every one of his beliefs, he would find such knowledge become his permanent possession as, being acquired through his experience, and based on reason, it would not be overthrown by doubts.

In the wake of *śabda-pramāṇa*, which is given the highest status, come the two other means of attaining knowledge, namely, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. For the purpose of attaining knowledge by these means, the disciple must undergo sufficient preparation. He should not dare to undertake the sacred task of the study of the Scripture without going through certain graded purificatory rites. Man is human, and God divine, but man has in him a spark of the divine, and hence, if he will nurture the divine flame in him, he will be endowed with new powers of vision that will guide him to the whole truth. The best of human efforts while separated from God, can never lead to true knowledge. On questions of ultimate realities, the most contradictory opinions are set forth. Some declare that all things are eternal; others hold just the opposite view that all things are transitory. A life of detachment from this life's sordid attractions, and a growing desire for the exalted life of the spirit gradually lead one in the path of truth. Soon, the śakti of Śiva, which is immanent in the soul, functioning as a revealing agent, dispels all ignorance, doubts and contradictions, and gives to the soul the highest truths of the Siddhānta.

It was noted above that whereas some maintain that the *pramāṇas* are three in number, others add as many more to constitute six valid *pramāṇas*, and others still hold that there are ten of them. Those who recognise six, give the following list:

1. Pratyakṣa	... observation.
2. Anumāna	... mediate inference.
3. Āgama	... testimony or authority.
4. Abhāva or <i>anupalabhi</i>	... non-perception.
5. Arthāpatti	... presumption.
6. Upamāna	... comparison.
Others still add the following four to the list, making a total of ten:	
7. Pāriśeṣa	... inference by elimination.
8. Sambhava	... probability.
9. Aitihiyam	... tradition.
10. Svabhāva-Liṅga	... natural inference.

The majority of the Siddhānta writers hold that the extra seven *pramāṇas* which they do not recognise can be reduced to the three *pramāṇas* admitted by all writers of the Siddhānta. Abhāva is to be included in *pratyakṣa*; *arthāpatti*, *upamāna*, *pāriśeṣa*, *sambhava* and *svabhāva-liṅga* under *anumāna*; and *aitihiyam* in *śabda pramāṇa* as shown below:

1. Abhava	... <i>pratyakṣa</i> .
2. Arthāpatti	... <i>anumāna</i> .
3. Upamāna	... <i>anumāna</i> .
4. Pāriśeṣa	... <i>anumāna</i> .
5. Svabhāva Liṅga	... <i>anumāna</i> .
6. Aitihiyam	... <i>śabda</i> .

These seven *pramāṇas* which are ruled out as having no claim to recognition may now be considered to see whether they have been justly dismissed.

Regarding the *pramāṇa* of *abhāva*, varied opinions have been expressed by different schools of thought. Of these, main trends of thought are worthy of note:

1. That *abhāva* is a case of perception

Sāṅkhyas and *Prābhākaras* maintain that there is perception of the mere locus.

2. That *abhāva* is an independent *pramāṇa*

Vedāntins and the Bhāṭṭa School of *Mīmāṃsakas* maintain this view on the ground that there is not merely the locus, but also an element of non-existence.

3. That *abhāva* is a perception of a peculiar type

This is Nyāya view as also the Siddhānta view.

The Sāṅkhyas and *Prābhākaras* hold that the judgement, 'There is no pot on the ground now', is an instance of perception, and that therefore, a separate *pramāṇa*, such as *abhāva*, is not required. The reason set forth by them in support of their view that the cognition of non-existence is a case of perception is that, as in *pratyakṣa* one is concerned

purely with what is present to sense-perception, so in the cognition of non-existence, one is met with the mere locus or ground that is present to sense-perception. On this ground, *abhāva*, as an independent *pramāṇa* is dismissed, and the cognition of non-existence classified as an instance of *pratyakṣa*.

Before such a conclusion can be accepted, the ground on which it is based needs to be tested. If the perception of the mere locus be considered to give rise to the cognition of non-existence, then the occasions when in spite of observing the locus, sometime elapses before the pot is missed, conflict with the assumption. On analysing the process of missing the pot, it will be found that it comes about when from the subconscious there gradually comes up to the region of full consciousness the fact that formerly there was a pot on the ground. On looking to find it on the ground, one misses it. It is this conjunction of the two elements, the recollection of a past experience and the present perception of the bare locus, that gives rise to the cognition of non-existence. When either of these is absent, there is no cognition of non-existence. The lapse of time that sometimes occurs before such a cognition takes place, in spite of the presence of the locus, is explained by the non-functioning of the memory element concerned, or in other words, the absence of the recollection of the former presence of the pot on the ground. Thus the presence of the mere locus does not suffice to explain the cognition of non-existence.

In fact, there are cases of *abhāva* where from the perceptive element is totally absent, at the time of making the judgment. e.g., when a certain person is asked if he saw Maitra at the sacrificial theatre, and he after an attempt to recollect the past event replies that Maitra was not at the theatre, he need not be at the place mentioned when the query arises, and need not go there before giving his reply. If so, the claim that the cognition of non-existence is a case of perception, as it has to do only with what is present to the senses, is spurious.

In examining the reasons offered for the view that the cognition of non-existence is a case of perception, we have noted some of the facts which make it impossible to reckon this cognition as an instance of perception. Among those who refuse to reduce *abhāva* to perception are the Advaitins and the Bhāṭṭa School of Mīmāṃsakas. Of the objections urged by them against the Sāṅkhya view, one has already been mentioned, which is that the perception of the bare locus cannot be counted as the only requisite for the cognition of non-existence, for the instances where the perception of the locus does not engender the cognition of non-existence lead one to search for the other element or elements required to bring about the cognition. The second fact pressed by them against their opponents is that should perception of the mere locus be the condition required for the cognition of the non-existence of the pot, such recognition could not be expected to be experienced when there is, for instance, a cloth on the ground, for in that case, the condition required, viz., of existence of a bare locus, is not had. The *reductio ad absurdum* of this position is that the pot will not be missed so long as there is some other object on the ground.

Apart from these objections raised by the Vedāntins against the view that *abhāva* is none other than *pratyakṣa*, they point out a very significant fact in support of their own

view. The inadequacy of the view that there is only the locus required for the cognition in question has been realised. The Advaitin proceeds to say that the other element is the non-existence of the pot. The ground and the non-existence on it of the pot are considered to be mutually irreducible elements concerned in cases of the cognition of non-existence. Since in this process of cognition, there are more elements than are present in ordinary *pratyakṣa*, the Advaitins content that the process concerned is not perception, but a further kind of cognition denoted by the term, 'abhāva.'

The Nyāya takes up a middle position between the two views presented above, of Sāṅkhya saying that the cognition of non-existence is a case of perception of the mere locus, and of the Advaitin maintaining besides the locus an added element of non-existence, the cognition of which requires the independent *pramāṇa* of *abhāva*. In agreement with the Advaitin, the Naiyāyika holds that besides the locus there is a further element, but he does not hold with him in his contention for a independent *pramāṇa*. With the Sāṅkhya, the Nyāya agrees to the extent of maintaining that no separate *pramāṇa* is required, but dissents from the view that besides the mere locus, there is no further element in the cognition of non-existence.

The Nyāya maintains that the cognition of non-existence is an instance of perception. In taking up this position, it has to answer certain objects. The Nyāya admits that the mere locus does not suffice for the matter in hand. The further element of non-existence is also required. If, as the Nyāya contends, the cognition in question is a case of perception, then as perception occurs only when the object concerned is present for cognition, so the perception of non-existence can also come about only when both the elements concerned, the locus and the non-existence of the pot, are present. The presence of an absent article is admittedly absurd. The Naiyāyika attempts to meet this difficulty by his rather novel view-point expressed by the term, 'viśeṣanātā' or adjectivity. According to this theory, non-existence is an attribute of the ground, and the senses come into contact with this attribute through contact with the locus. This view has to prove that non-existence is an attribute of the ground and that a special mode of contact (*sannikarṣa*) makes possible the perception of non-existence. Those attributes such as colour, that are readily admitted to be attributed of the ground are the elements that constitute the ground, so that where they are, there also is the ground, and apart from the, the ground is not thinkable.

Further, these attributes can call be perceived. Can these features characterise non-existence too? For if non-existence is an attribute of the ground, it must have these features in common with them. Non-existence, however, has exactly the opposite features to those mentioned. Non-existence cannot be claimed as one of the constituents of the ground. Nor is it present to perception as the other elements are present in perception. If in these important respects non-existence differs from the other attributes of the ground, the assumption that it is an attribute of the ground proves groundless. The further assumption of a special *sannikarṣa* proves equally groundless both because, whereas, the other attributes of the ground, and because, whereas, the other attributes of the ground are perceived without delay on seeing the ground, non-existence is sometimes not cognised at once. These difficulties prove that the theory of *viśeṣanātā* is without foundation.

The Siddhāntin, in examining the problem sets forth various arguments which point out that in *abhāva* there is besides the locus an additional element. For instance, the knowledge of *abhāva* involves that of its correlate, which however, is absent from the locus. Further, it may happen that an identical locus serves as the basis for cognitions of more than one kind of *abhāva*, e.g., (i) The ground is not the pot, (ii) The ground is characterised by absence of the pot. If the cognitions of these different types of non-existence depended on the same substrate, then the diversity of the cognitions would remain unexplained.

The judgments of *abhāva* are expressed either in the form 'The ground is characterised by the absence of the pot', or in the form, 'there is absence of the pot on the ground.' In the first example, non-existence occurs as the predicate, and in the second as the subject. If the locus alone served to lead to *abhāva* cognition, then in such a judgment as the first example, the relation existing between the 'ground' and 'non-existence' (as substance and attribute) would be left unexplained. If the Siddhāntin had examined the second example, he might have given a more conclusive argument than the former in proving his point that the mere locus does not suffice in *abhāva* cognition. The judgment expressed in the form, 'There is absence of the pot on the ground', has for its subject an element other than the locus.

The fact that in *abhāva* there is more than the locus constitutes for the Siddhāntin the necessity for deviating from a view such as that upheld by the Prābhākaras that *abhāva* is due to perception of the mere locus. However, this recognition of the element that exists besides the locus in *abhāva*, which he admits in agreement with the Advaitins, does not lead to the further agreement with them that an independent *pramāṇa* is required for the cognition in question. His position like that of the Naiyāyika is one of compromise between the view of the Prābhākara and that of the Advaitin. The points of contact with and the points of divergence from these schools are identical for the Siddhānta and the Nyāya. The similarity traced thus far between the Siddhānta and the Nyāya on the question of *abhāva* is seen to develop into identity in the solution offered to the problem of *abhāva*. As the Nyāya maintains that the cognition of *abhāva* is due to perception involving special kind of contact described as '*viśeṣanātā*', the Siddhānta also explains *abhāva* by the same special kind of sense contact, '*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva*.'

In tracing the theories that have proved themselves a failure, it was noted that the element which in the cognition of non-existence refuses to be reduced to anything else or to be ignored wholly, is that which exists besides the bare locus. It was noted also that often there was delay in the element asserting itself. This other constituent, as said before, is the recollection of the past experience of the perception of the pot on the ground. Since perception does not include within itself previous knowledge the cognition of non-existence, which, having such previous knowledge as one of its essential elements, refuses to be compromised in any way, cannot be a case of perception. The attempts to reduce it to that have resulted in absurdities.

Nor yet does it seem possible to deny it independent status, and reduce it to any

of the other *pramāṇas*. In one respect, it bears a great resemblance to *upamāna*. As in saying, 'This gavaya resembles my cow', the recollected image of the cow is compared with the present perception of *gavaya*, so in saying, 'There is no pot on the ground now', there is comparison between the previous experience of the ground as seen with a pot, and the present experience of the ground as seen without a pot. Yet the one process cannot be said to be the other. In *upamāna*, comparison is the main thing, but in *abhāva*, comparison is only one of the elements, and the interest centres round the absence of the object concerned. If these differences are not to be ignored, *abhāva* must be recognised as an independent *pramāṇa*.

As in the case of *abhāva*, so also in the case of *upamāna*, there has been no agreement as to whether it should have independent status; and among those that consider it to have no claim for recognition, there is lack of agreement again as to the *pramāṇa* to which it should be reduced. Certain of those, who deny its claim to independence, hold that it is a case of perception. The judgment, 'This gavaya is like my cow', is considered by them to be a judgment of perception of similarities. The Vedāntins contending for the recognition of *upamāna* as an independent *pramāṇa* point out that though the example, 'This gavaya is like my cow', may be considered an instance of perception of similarities, the judgment, 'My cow is like this gavaya' cannot be reckoned another example of the same process, as, in this case, the subject of the judgment, 'my cow', is not present to perception, and there can be no perception of a non-present to perception, and there can be no perception of a non-present object. In addition to this criticism by the Vedāntin, it may be said that in such a judgment of comparison as 'King Edward I was wiser than his son, Edward II,' neither of the persons between whom the comparison is made, is present. Thus though in the process of comparison, perception at times is one of the elements, it is not the only element so as to justify one in reducing the process to one of perception; nor is it one of the essential elements invariably present.

The Siddhāntins who do not recognise the claims of *upamāna* as an independent *pramāṇa* maintain that it is an instance of *anumāna*. Those who are in agreement with this view seek to justify it by maintaining that as in *anumāna*, so also in the case of *upamāna*, there is mediate reasoning, which may be expressed as follows:

If an object resembles another object, then conversely, the latter resembles the former.

The *gavaya* resembles the cow.

Therefore, the cow resembles the *gavaya*.

Since *anumāna* is a process of mediate syllogistic reasoning proceeding from general to particular, the process of comparison, which does not attempt to bring any particular under any accepted *vyāpti*, cannot be said to be an instance of *anumāna*. On the contrary, just as *anumāna* has its own distinctive mental processes of proceeding from *vyāpti* and, through exhibiting the middle ground, arriving at the conclusion, so also *upamāna* has its own distinctive feature that justify its recognition as an independent *pramāṇa*. In all cases of *upamāna* whether resulting in judgments such as, 'This gavaya is like my cow', or in judgments even more simple such as 'This is a deeper blue than that',

there is ■ certain cognitive process which is the distinctive feature of cognitions of similarity. Other features may or may not be present, thus proving that they are not essential; but there is one unfailing feature which constitutes the distinctive mark of cognitions of similarity. This is the process of comparing two or more objects concerned in respect of a particular criterion. In the simple judgment, 'This is more blue than that', the two objects concerned are judged in respect of the criterion blue colour. Similarly, in asserting, 'This gavaya is like my cow' or 'My cow is like this gavaya,' the animals are compared with regard to their appearance.

To make explicit the process of comparison involved, the assertions made may be expressed in other words as 'The appearance of this animal is like the appearance of that.' It is not necessary that either one or all of the objects concerned should be present to perception. Even in the case of absent objects that are being compared, it is possible to review in mind one object and then the other, and back and forth like this to see how they stand in relation to each other in respect of a particular criterion. This is the distinctive feature of comparison which cannot be distorted to take the form of syllogistic reasoning to favour those who would regard *upamāna* as an instance of *anumāna*, or be dismembered to retain only the element that is sometimes present, to favour the theory that the process is an instance of preception. This warrants the recognition of the independence of this *pramāna* which, at the hands of the Advaitins and the Mimāṃsakas, receives the name of 'upamāna' which, "etymologically means comparison or knowledge of similarity."

For *arthāpatti* or postulation, the usual example given is "Devadatta is fat though he fasts by day, so he must eat at night"; and the assumption here is that he eats by night. A second example is as follows: "A man who is alive is not at home; therefore, he is out." In all cases of *arthāpatti*, there is an apparent inconsistency between two well-established facts, and this inconsistency leads us to presume a third condition, which ■ the sole ground that can reconcile the apparent conflict between the two facts. Thus, in the first example, the two well established facts are that Devadatta fasts by day, and that he is fat. How can a man be fat when he does not eat? The only condition that can reconcile these two facts is that he eats at night. This postulate or presumption, which reconciles the apparently conflicting statements, is what is arrived at through *arthāpatti*.

Those Siddhāntins who refuse the claim of independence to *arthāpatti* maintain it to be an instance of *pramāna*. This view is effectively criticised by the Mimāṃsakas who maintain the *pramāna* to be independent. The 'Pauṣkara Bhāṣya' also makes a considerable contribution by way of justifying ■ position that *arthāpatti* is one of the recognised *pramānas*. The Mimāṃsakas point out that the distinctive feature of *arthāpatti* is that an element of conflict enters into the facts observed, which can be removed only by postulating something else. It is strange that Devadatta should be fat even though he fasts by day. These facts, however, cease to clash when the assumption is made that he eats by night. Thus the distinctive feature on the basis of which *Arthāpatti* can be recognised as an independent *Pramāna* is that it reconciles two apparently inconsistent facts. Those who would reduce it to *anumāna*, should note that there is no such inconsistency between

well ascertained facts in inference. The 'Pauṣkara Bhāṣya' maintains that if Arthāpatti were the same as anumāna, the results given by the two processes of reasoning should be the same. The information given by Arthāpatti that Devadatta eats by night, cannot possibly be given by Anumāna as the 'eating at night', not being contained in any of the premises, cannot appear in the conclusion. This element that cannot be had by means of anumāna is just that significant postulate, 'he eats at night' which dissolves the conflict arising between the statements: (i) Devadatta is fat, (ii) He fasts by day. This special contribution made by arthāpatti constitutes its claim to independence.

Those who reduce *pāriśeṣa*, *sambhava* and *svabhāva-līṅga* to *anumāna* forget that *anumāna* is restricted to syllogistic reasoning in which by means of a vyāpti and a middle ground, the conclusion is derived. If *anumāna* included also immediate inferences, then the *pramāṇas* in question, namely, *pāriśeṣa*, *sambhava* and *svabhāva-līṅga*, could readily be reckoned as instances of immediate inference. But since *anumāna* applies only to syllogistic reasoning, and since such elaborate reasoning is not present in the *pramāṇas* to be considered, they cannot be reduced to *anumāna*.

Pāriśeṣa is based on elimination of those alternative that are proved not to account for a certain facts, which process leaves the only alternative that can explain the fact concerned. When, for instance, it is known that of the three persons that could possibly be responsible for a theft committed, two are proved to be innocent, then the necessity of fact points out the third person as the thief. As in the case of arthāpatti, in *pāriśeṣa* also, an element of conflict enters between two facts, and this conflict is dissipated by a further postulate or alternative. Thus to use the above example again, the irreconcilable facts are that two of the persons concerned are not guilty, and yet a theft has occurred. the disparity between these facts vanishes when the only other person concerned is called to account for the theft. *Pāriśeṣa*, therefore, can be reduced to *arthāpatti*.

Sambhava and *svabhāva-līṅga* are similar to each other. Thus, as in saying 'I have six books' it is also implied that I have three books, so in saying that a mango tree has flowered, it is also implied that a tree has flowered. The latter is given as an example of *svabhāva-līṅga*. the claim for independence in the case of these two *pramāṇas* is very feeble. The inference makes manifest an implied significance of either the subject or predicate term. The subject term, 'mango tree' has the significance that the object is a tree of a particular kind. Again, in the statement, 'I have six books,' the attribute, 'six' has the significance that it is a particular number, and that it ranks above the numbers less than itself. A proposition that merely makes manifest a certain significance of either subject or predicate term cannot claim to give inferential knowledge. The claim of independence for these *pramāṇas* cannot be conceded. *Atiheyam* or tradition, when it is valid, is an instance of *śabda pramāṇa*.

We are now in a position to choose among the three lists of *pramāṇas* noted earlier. Of those that hold that the *pramāṇas* are three, and of those that maintain that they are six, and of those that put forth ten *pramāṇas*, it is the second group who, for reasons given above, gain our support. The accepted *pramāṇas* are: *śabda*, *anumāna*, *pratyakṣa*, *abhāva*, *upamāna* and *arthāpatti*.

The three *pramāṇas* that have been recognised by all these groups of thinkers may now be considered in detail. Of perception, it has been said that it is a *pramāṇa* accepted by all. Even the Lōkāyata who resigns all other *pramāṇas* retains this as a valid means of knowledge. The Siddhāntin divides perception into two main classes:

I. Valid perceptions; II. Invalid perceptions.

I. *Valid perception consists of:* a. Nirvikalpaka perception. b. Savikalpaka perception.

a. Nirvikalpaka Perception

Nirvikalpaka perception is different from *savikalpaka* perception, in that unlike the latter it does not involve the work of the mind, but is an undefined awareness of objects. There is here no intelligent perception of the specific and generic attributes of the object which go to make it one of a class. In the 'Pauṣkara Āgama', *nirvikalpaka* is described as the cognition of the bare object, and *savikalpaka* as the cognition of the name, qualities and class of the object.

In perception, besides the sense organs which have been mentioned, several other means are involved. These accessories cannot perceive by themselves as they are non-intelligent; nor can the soul function by itself, as being covered with impurity it is dependent on the senses. The co-operation of both soul and *karāṇas* is required in perception. The intelligence goes out to perceive objects through the particular sense organ concerned, and these organs are helped by the five elements as e.g. light, which helps us to see forms of objects, and ether, which helps us to sense sounds.

The position of the Siddhānta with reference to the sense-object controversy is identical with that of the Naiyāyika. Further as the difficulties which the Siddhāntin considers in seeking to establish his position are identical with those met by the Naiyāyika, it would seem that the Buddhist opponents of the Naiyāyika's sense-object-contact theory were also opponents of the Siddhāntin. The Nyāya view is that in the case of hearing, smell etc., a medium like *ākāśa* establishes the necessary contact between the senses concerned and the object. The Buddhist logicians object to this view saying that if the visual organ had to come into contact with the object of perception, it could not, for instance, pervade a large mountain, which in that case would be imperceptible. Further, the eye takes the same time to view a distant object as a near one, and this would not be the case if it were necessary for the sense organ to go out. Moreover, objects would not be perceptible through mica and other transparent substances if perception depended on sense-object-contact. The Naiyāyika's reply to these objections is that the light of the eye pervades objects large or small. There is a difference in the time taken by the eye to see distant objects compared with the time required for seeing nearer ones. Mica, glass etc., being transparent, permit the passage of light through them. In the case of auditory perception, the sound waves are said to come into contact with the auditory organ. In the case of smell, small particles of the object are borne by the air to the nose.

The Siddhāntin maintains that the eye is as much an external sense organ as the skin, and as this cannot feel objects unless contact with them is established, so also the

eye needs to come into contact with the objects to be perceived. If no such contact were necessary, objects behind the wall, with which the light of the eye cannot come into contact, ought to be perceptible. It might be said that since the eye can by reflection in the mirror see objects behind itself, the perception in this case cannot be due to contact with the objects. The objection serves only to confirm the Siddhāntin's theory. He points out that as the rays of the sun falling on a pot of water are reflected on the inner are turned back on the objects behind the observer. It is the necessity for the light rays of the eye to come into contact with the remote objects respectively. As the light of the lamp gets less in intensity the further it goes, similarly, the light of the eye spends itself in proportion to the distance covered by it.

The perception of an image within a crystal might be considered to overthrow this theory. In reply to this, the Siddhāntin points out that the light of the eye which is very subtle can travel through the crystal, which being finer than the wall presents no resistance to the entry of the light rays as the wall does. The next objection considered is that as the perception of a near object and a distant one require the same length of time, the theory must give way unless the absurd conclusion is to be accepted that for travelling small or great distances, the rays require the same length of time. By means of the analogy that the same length of time seems to be required to pierce a needle through one lotus petal as through a hundred petals arranged in a pile, the Siddhāntin points out that the passing of time is so subtle that it often escapes observation. This fact makes it difficult to notice the greater length of time required for observing a distant object than a nearer one. The next question raised is how the rays can pervade even a large object, such as a mountain. It is pointed out that as a drop of oil spreads itself out on water, and as the light of the lamp scatters itself in space, so the rays of the eye pervade even a large object.

The other four senses do not reach out to objects as the eye does, but attain the necessary contact through some connecting medium. Thus by means of the air, the heat of the fire in the neighbourhood and the smell of flowers are borne to the skin, and nose respectively. That this is so is proved by the fact that when the wind blows in the opposite direction, there are not the above experiences. These considerations lead the Siddhāntin to conclude that the eye by means of its light reaches out to objects; the other organs do not reach out thus, but by means of some medium or other, attain the necessary contact with the object.

b. Savikalpaka Perception

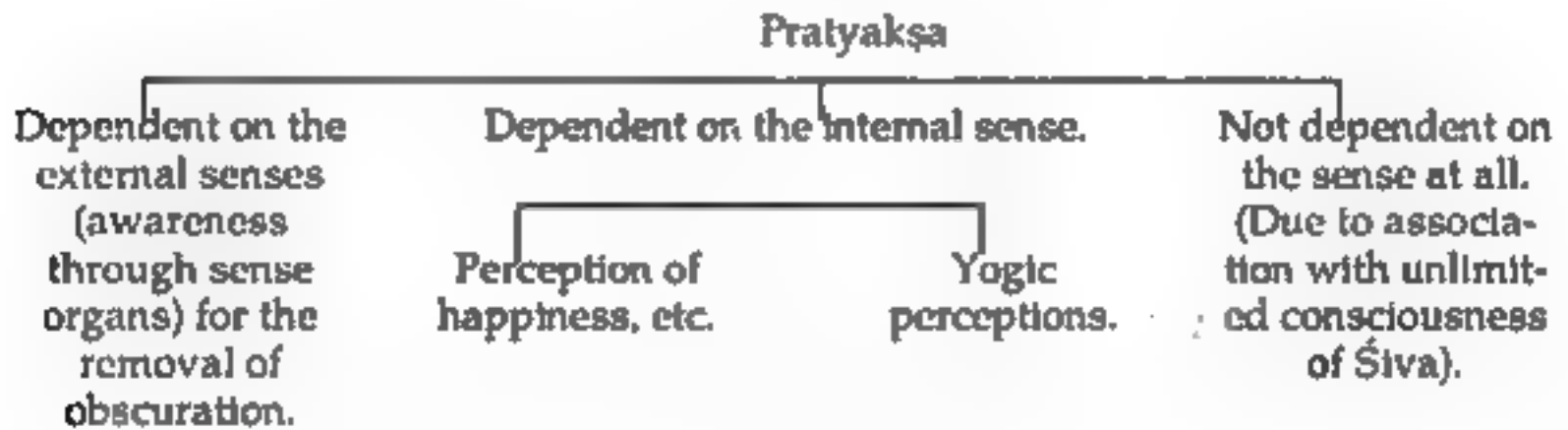
Savikalpaka perception involves the work of the mind. The data cognised to be present in the stage of Nirvikalpaka are now intelligently examined. There is an advance from the stage of mere undefined awareness of objects to discrimination of the same as certain specific objects. Savikalpaka perception or perception by the mind is divided into:

- (i) Determinate perception of objects.
- (ii) Perception of pleasure and pain.
- (iii) Yogic perception.

In the last of these perceptions it is only the organs of internal sense that are

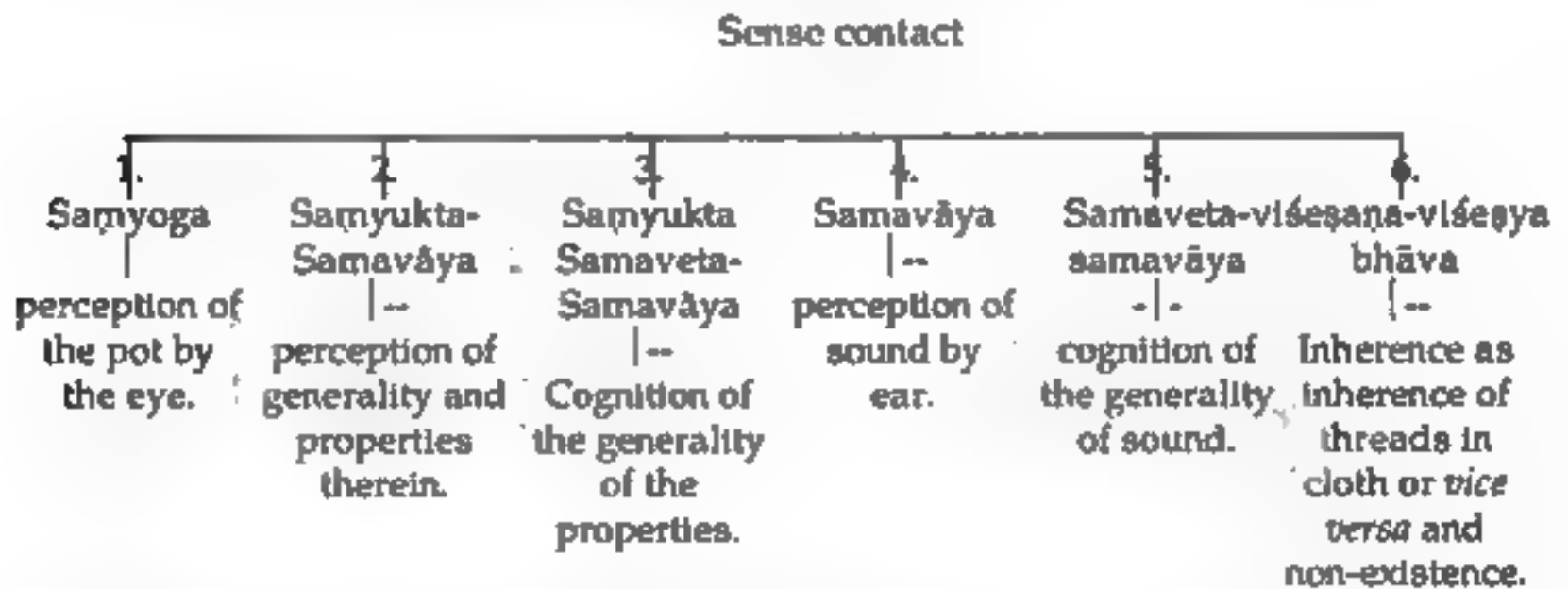
involved. Yogic perception is indeed a supreme experience. Here, the Yogic exercising his will to its fullest extent, preserves through various stages of detachment from the snares of this world, and concentrates his mind fully on the eternal realities and has visions of what is not revealed to ordinary minds?

The 'Pauṣkara Āgama' gives the following classification of *pratyakṣa*:



We have been in the first division, perception dependent on external senses, and in the second, perception that is dependent on the internal senses, and this second type can again be divided into perceptions of the feelings of happiness, etc., and Yogic perceptions. The third and highest is the perception that is derived through association with Śiva, and is therefore not dependent on the senses at all, external or internal.

Six kinds of sense-contact are discriminated:



A The commentator says that since for the Siddhāntin the sense of hearing is a modification of Ahankāra, (not ether as for the Naiyāyika), 4 and 5 may be reduced to 2 and 3, so that there are only four kinds of sense-contact (P.B. p. 534).

II. *Invalid perception* consists of doubtful perception and erroneous perception.

Doubtful perception is experienced when for example, on seeing a post in twilight, we wonder whether it is a post or a man. The mental activity here consists in

apprehending conflicting attributes of the one substance. Doubt is engendered by similarity of form, like the uprightness which is common to men and posts. Doubt may also arise in the case of what is unique, e.g., soundness, in which case, doubts as to whether it is eternal or non-eternal are difficult to decide. In both the cases given, there is defective causation of knowledge.

An example of mistaken perception is the mistaking of an observed rope for a snake. The error is due to the cognised 'what' being at variance with the 'that' which does not possess that content. Here also it will be noted that error arises due to similarity of form. The erroneous cognitions which arise owing to similarity of form. The erroneous cognitions which arise owing to similarity of form, are by some considered as acceptable on the ground that in the case of similars, there is a presence of each in the other. The Pauskara Bhaṣya' points out that if the judgment, 'This is silver' made on observing a shell were to be accepted, then its contradictory 'This is not silver' could never follow, even though true. In the account of both doubt and error, the position of the Naiyāyika is closely followed.

Anumāna is the next *pramāṇa* to be considered. It is admitted to be a *pramāṇa* by all schools of Indian thinkers excepting the Cārvākas. Describing it in general terms, the Siddhāntin says that *anumāna* says that *anumāna* is the process where the mind with the aid of the reasons given in the Siddhānta works is able to reflect on and corroborate the truths contained in these sacred works. The definition given of *anumāna* is that it is inferential knowledge in the form of the presence in the minor of the middle as qualified by the indubitable concomitance of the major. Being inferential knowledge, *anumāna*, unlike *pratyakṣa*, can only follow on other knowledge. It has to result from the knowledge of the characteristic mark (*liṅga*) and the knowledge of those which bear the mark (the major and minor terms).

It is pointed out that according to all Indian thinkers, inference proceeds from the knowledge of invariable concomitance between the middle and major terms (expressed by *vyāpti*) and from the knowledge of the minor terms as characterised by the middle. In *anumāna*, the fact to be known is implicit in the premises; and by means of the connection between the middle and major terms, the *nigamana* or conclusion is made explicit. From this description of *anumāna*, it is clear that Indian thinkers recognise only mediate inference for which *vyāpti* is essential. For this reason, it is not correct to say that 'anumāna' can be translated into 'inference'; for this latter term including as it does immediate inferences also, is a much wider term than *anumāna*, which stands for mediate inferences only.

The indubitable concomitance of the middle with the major which is required for giving inferential knowledge is known as *Vyāpti*. The possibility and validity of inferential knowledge depend on the possibility of arriving at, and the validity, of, the *Vyāpti* or major premise expressing invariable concomitance between the major and middle terms. It is therefore important for the Siddhāntin to establish the validity of *Vyāpti* if his contention that *Anumāna* is a valid *Pramāṇa* is to be granted. The Siddhāntin notes the various considerations on account of which *vyāpti* is regarded as impossible of attainment. It is

held by the Cārvākas that there can be no *vyāpti*, as perception can give knowledge only of present instances, and not of those of the past or of the future. Even repeated perception of concomitance cannot guarantee valid *vyāpti* as this still does not exhaust all instances. The limitation of *tarka* (*reductio ad absurdum*) as a method of testing the validity of *vyāpti* is that *tarka* itself requires a universal relation, the means of arriving at which is not yet known. It seeks to build on that which it questions. Similarly, inference cannot yield *vyāpti*, as it is the validity of inference that is in question. Nor does testimony offer any better results as the sense of the words can be understood only as the result of inference based on the relation of word to sense in the usage of elders, and of inference itself validity has to be proved. The possibility of arriving at *vyāpti* seems undermined by these difficulties.

However, the Siddhāntin who seems to feel that unnecessary difficulties have been set up, proceeds to say that there is *vyāpti* in so far as there is knowledge of presence, and also absence of knowledge of exceptions. Difficulty remains with regard to these exceptions, for there may be exceptions which are not known. This point is considered to be settled by *tarka*. The objection that *tarka* leads to infinite regress is not recognised as a difficulty by the Siddhāntin, who points out that *tarka* is to be used only in cases of doubt. Further, the Siddhāntin believing in the self-evident character of knowledge proceeds with *tarka* only until he arrives to knowledge which satisfies him, and does not go on with the argumentation *ad infinitum*. Even the absence of exceptions is considered to be sometimes self-evident. This need not be considered an extravagant claim, e.g. exceptional instances of fire being cool are inconceivable. The absurd position of those who seek to establish the invalidity of inference is shewn to consist in their having no valid *vyāpti* whereon to ground their inference. They question what would be unquestionable if their own result is to be unquestioned.

Vyāpti is of two kinds, namely: (1) *Anvaya* and (2) *Vyatireka*.

Anvaya expresses a relationship of co-presence; and takes the form, 'Where this is, that is.' *Vyatireka* expresses the relationship of co-absence, and takes the form, 'Where that is not, this is not.'

The Siddhāntin has four classifications of inference, each of which is made on a different basis.

I. Inferences are either positive or negative according as they are expressed in one form or the other.

Positive form

Pratijñā	(proposition)	The mountain is fiery.
Hetu	(reason)	Because it has smoke.
Udāharana	(Illustration)	As in the case of the hearth which has smoke.
Upanaya	(application)	So does this mountain also have smoke pervaded by fire.
Nigamana	(conclusion)	Therefore, this mountain is fiery.

Negative form

Pratijñā	There is no smoke is this mountain.
Hetu	Because there is no fire.
Udhāraṇa	As in the case of a tank which has no fire.
Upanaya	So does this mountain also have no fire that pervades smoke.
Nigamana	Therefore, there is no smoke.

II. Inferences again are of three kinds according as they use positive, negative or both positive and negative illustrations.

1. Kevalānvayi (positive).
2. Kevalavyatireki (negative).
3. Anvaya-vyatireki (positive and negative).

Positive instances may be exemplified by: The world has a creator because it is a created thing, e.g., a pot, which being a created thing, has the potter for its creator.

Negative instances may be exemplified by:

Every effect is originated only as already existent, because of its being an object of volitional effort. That which is not previously existent, like the horns of a hare, is not known to be an object of volitional effort.

Positive and negative instances may be exemplified by:

This place is fiery because it smokes; where there is smoke, there is fire, as in the kitchen; where there is no fire, there is no smoke, as in a deep well.

III. Inference is of two kinds according as it gives sensible or super-sensible knowledge. *Dṛṣṭam* gives knowledge of what is within the reach of the senses; and *sāmāyato dṛṣṭam* gives knowledge of what is not perceptible by the senses?

IV. Inferences are three-membered or five-membered according as they are used for oneself or for others.

The question as to whether the three-membered or the five-membered syllogism is preferable is a point on which different schools of thinkers hold divided opinions. The *Mīmāṃsakas* and *Buddhists* point out that the *Siddhāntins* and *Naiyāyikas*, on the other hand, maintain that the five-membered syllogism cannot be abbreviated unless important thought processes are to be ignored. The *Siddhāntin* criticises the *Mīmāṃsaka's* proposal to start three-membered syllogism with a universal proposition. What the hearer is interested in is the particular before him, and not knowing yet the connection between this and the universal proposition, he will condemn the person who commences the syllogism with a universal proposition, as being irrelevant.

In order to enlist his interest to consider the universal proposition, he has to be led up to this by being told that the hill has smoke because it has fire, and whatever has smoke has fire. Nor may it be said that we should stop with the *udāharana*. Before the listener can be led up to the conclusion, he must see that the minor also has the major, since it is characterised by the middle, which also has the major. The conclusion then inevitably follows that the minor must also have the major since it is characterised by the middle which itself has the major. The conclusion is not a mere repetition, for it now carries

assurance and necessity with it. It is the thesis proved, and therefore accepted by the opponent. The Siddhāntin's emphasis on the significance of the nigamana is intended to attack the Bauddhas who recognise only the *udāharana* and the *upanaya*.

The Naiyāyika too, in supporting the five-membered syllogism, points out the significance of each of the five propositions. The Nyāya has other reasons also for favouring the more elaborate syllogism. As pointed out, from Gautama downward, logic was with the Naiyāyika both a science and an art, discovery and proof. The five-membered syllogism being such a perfect blend of induction and deduction was reckoned a sure way of attaining truth. It is shewn that there is a further significance in the Naiyāyika's adhesion to the five-membered syllogism. It would appear that, in the five-membered syllogism, the Naiyāyikas enlist all the four *pramāṇas* recognised by them to urge the truth expressed in the conclusion. the statement of the thesis (*pratijñā*) may be taken to stand for valid verbal testimony (*śabda*); the reason (*hetu*) for the instrument of inference (*anumāna*); the example (*udāharana*) for the instrument of perception (*pratyakṣa*); and the subsumptive correlation (*upanaya*) for analogy (*upamāna*). Being thus testified to by all the *pramāṇas*, the nigamana or conclusion comes to have much importance and is described as 'the acme of logical demonstration.'

The propositions used in all these arguments, will be noticed to be of three kinds. There is at first, 'pakṣa', which is a simple statement of probandum, e.g., 'There is fire on the mountain.' 'Sapakṣa' is the proposition used to express the positive instances of concomitance between the middle and major terms, e.g. 'There is always fire in the kitchen, when there is smoke.' 'Vipakṣa' expresses negative concomitance between the middle and major terms, e.g., 'Where there is no fire, there is no smoke.'

The *hetu* used in these arguments is of three kinds, namely, identity, cause and effect, and lastly negation consisting in the non-existence of an effect due to non-existence of its cause. When from hearing the word, 'silver oak', we infer the existence of treeness, we have an example of identity. When we admit the effect smoke to indicate the cause, fire, we have an example of the second type. When from the absence of cold, we infer that there will be no dew, we have an example of the last type.

Śabda-pramāṇa which is the next to be considered, is neglected by some as one that can gain acceptance only at the hands of the credulous and the sentimental. The Buddhists, who refuse to recognise it, point out that as often there is reason to doubt what is received on the authority of others, and the truth of such verbal testimony has to be established by such considerations as the trustworthiness of the author, *śabda-pramāṇa* has to be reduced to *anumāna*; and since its validity has thus to be tested by other *pramāṇas*, it cannot be recognised as an independent *pramāṇa*. But reflection proves that on this ground on which *śabda-pramāṇa* is rejected, the other *pramāṇas* of perception and inference should also be rejected. For just as sometimes the validity of *śabda-pramāṇa* has to be tested by another *pramāṇa*, so there are occasions when the validity of inference is tested by perception, as when waking in the morning, the streets are found to be wet, and the inference is made that it has rained, but subsequently, on seeing the roofs of the houses etc., quite dry, the inference is revised in the light of this perception so that the conclusion now drawn is that the street has been water.

If this be so, is inference to be given up ? If the validity of *śabda-pramāṇa* is sometimes tested by either inference or perception, these latter too are tested by *śabda-pramāṇa*. Perception indicates the sun to move from east to west, but the enlightened accept the information of the astronomers that it is the earth that moves around the sun. *Śabda-pramāṇa* is sometimes condemned on the ground that there is conflict of opinion among writers. This defect is to be found in inference and perception also, and is not something peculiar to *śabda-pramāṇa*. It is often the case that when verbal testimonies of two dependable people conflict, it is because of erroneous perception or wrong inference. Thus these several objections offer no difficulty to the recognition of *śabda* as *pramāṇa*.

As *Anumāna* and *pra-yakṣa* have to fulfil certain requirements before being accepted as valid, so also *śabda* has to meet certain requirements before it can be accepted as valid. The four requirements mentioned by the 'Pāṇskara Bhāṣya' are:

1. *Ākāṅkṣā* (expectancy),
2. *Yogyatā* (competence),
3. *Āsatti* (juxtaposition) and
4. *Tātparya* (purport).

Ākāṅkṣā is the incompleteness of the sense of what is declared except in the light of something else that is to be declared. This requirement is based on the unity of a sentence conveying sense. The partial utterance of such a sentence leaves unsatisfied the expectancy that has been aroused, and the sense of what has been uttered requires the rest of the sentence to complete it? This expectancy is not experienced on hearing a string of words, such as, 'table, floor, light', which make no sense. The next requirement, '*yōgyatā*', is the capacity to convey sense. This is attained when among the words that are to be predicated together, there is no incompatibility. The failure to meet this requirement leads to absurd statements such as, 'Moisten with fire.' *Āsatti* (juxtaposition) makes possible the understanding of the correlate of the combination. Should such a juxtaposition be lacking, e.g., in stating the first half of a sentence and allowing a long interval to intervene before that next half is uttered, then difficulty is experienced in understanding the sense intended to be conveyed. *Tātparya* (or purport) requires that the speaker should know the sense of what is spoken?

It may be objected that in the case of the Vedas, which are eternal, and in the case of a parrot repeating a sentence, there may be valid testimony without the requirement of *tātparya* being satisfied. The first instance is no difficulty to the Siddhāntin for the reason that according to him, the Vedas, having been revealed by Śiva, cannot be said to lack an author. The second instance is also shown to be no exception to the rule since though the parrot lacks knowledge of the purport, he who taught the parrot, possessed the purport necessary for valid testimony. Testimony that conforms to these requirements, becomes a valid *pramāṇa*. Beyond accepting it because of its validity, it will be seen that in one important respect, it is indispensable. Since the Scriptures deal with the 'supersensible, which cannot be compassed by any of the other *pramāṇas*, they must be given their rightful place as authoritative sources of knowledge.

Attention may now be turned to the Siddhāntin's criterion of truth. The significance of the Siddhānta position in this matter comes to light in its vigorous contention against the view that truth and error consist in correspondence and lack of correspondence respectively with reality outside, resemblance being understood by correspondence. This resemblance must be either partial or entire. Either position is exposed to the criticism of the Siddhāntin. If partial resemblance should constitute truth, that is to be found in error as well. If entire resemblance be sought to be attained in truth, that can never be had, for there can never be entire resemblance between a mental content and an object in the external world.

Correspondence, which constitutes truth for the Naiyāyika, is considered to be verified by the 'fruitful activity test.' This position is the outcome of his postulate that being conditioned by the senses, one cannot know the world as it is, and truth and error have to be indicated by indirect means. Thus he cannot grant that truth is self-evident. That the soul in saṃsāra is conditioned by the senses is what the Siddhāntin emphasises in his śāstras. The soul whose intelligence is clouded by ānava, is dependent for its knowledge of the world on the instruments of knowledge etc., provided by māyā. Māyā, being one of the *malas*, can at best give only a defective knowledge of the world. Considering that this postulate of the sense-conditioned nature of the soul is common to the two schools, one anticipates further points of contact between them. The possibility of such agreement is not unheeded by the Siddhāntin. On considering the Nyāya attempt to overreach the sense-conditioned nature of the soul by means of the 'fruitful activity test', the Siddhāntin finds that all such attempts must necessarily be futile. If a present experience is condemned as sense-conditioned, and is sought to be tested by the fruitful activity test, is the knowledge given by test apprehended through any means other than the sense-conditioned nature of the soul? Does not this latter experience have just the same approach to the soul (i.e. the *māyā*-conditioned way) as the original cognition had?

The assumption, that whatever knowledge is attained through the material *karaṇas* is defective, refuses validity not only to present cognition, but also to the *pramāṇas* by which present cognition is sought to be tested. Knowledge attained through the *karaṇas*, whether immediate or remote, is defective. Hence there is no point in trying to establish the validity of one experience by another which, being as much *māyā*-conditioned as the other, falls short of truth as much as the other. Giving up such a pointless procedure, he maintains that the approximate truth which the senses offer, is self-evident.' The position of the self-evident nature of truth cannot with consistency be denied. It is the final goal even of those who imagine they have escaped from it. For to those who maintain that truth is not self-evident, even absence of validity is not self-evident, and has to be known through prior knowledge.

In his adherence to the position of the self-evident nature of truth, does not the Siddhāntin rule out doubt and error? These are admitted experiences in his system, and are shewn to be met with only sometimes, when owing to defective causation of knowledge, truth appears more distorted than under normal conditions. Truth has, for its

manifestation, certain elements in addition to those present in error. Thus, in the erroneous cognition of a shell as silver, there is sense-contact with one surface of the shell as shell, there is in addition to the sense-contact present in error, contact with the dark outer surface of the shell. This added sense-contact keeps out the confusion that arises in erroneous cognition.

Invalidity for the Siddhāntin is not intrinsic when, therefore, doubts and errors occur, even though they are not matters of constant experience, in the light of what are they to be judged in order that from those experiences one may be led to truth? The elements of harmony and inclusiveness, of which there are slight indications in the Siddhānta system, lead one to conjecture that coherence might be the criterion. The greater number of *tattvas* in his system constitutes for him the superiority of his position compared with other schools which have discovered fewer *tattvas*. When Nandi Perumān perused all the Śaivāgamas, he was dazed by all the diverse accounts contained therein. He was happy, however when the Siddhānta system was revealed to him because this helped him to find the harmony which satisfied his mind. Yet these evidences of the elements constituting coherence are too scanty to offer any conclusive result as to whether coherence is the goal of truth in the Siddhānta.

The question will be raised whether the Siddhāntin is satisfied with the approximate truth to which the soul is confined because of its association with impurities? No one feels as keenly discontented with the situation as the Siddhāntin. Verses 2-7 of the 'Vināveṇbā' express the despair of the human soul which, knowing the finite nature of its mind, realises that many things are beyond its grasp. All that the *tattvas* can give is the delusive knowledge of the world, and if being dissatisfied with what the *tattvas* yield, one dismisses them, the dark state of Kevala promptly sets in. The poet (Umāpati) in despair seeks to know from his guru how he can ever come to have knowledge of God's grace and of God Himself. Thus the Siddhāntin thirsts for ultimate truth undistorted by impurities. But that cannot be had unless the soul is freed of its *māyā*-fetters. In Śiva-jñāna, he ultimately finds a means that, helping him to transcend his *māyā*-conditioned predicament, leads him to truth.

There are yet a few more difficulties lurking in the background, which must now be dealt with. *Citśakti* usually meaning knowledge, is here said to be the instrument of knowledge. How can it be that *cit-śakti* could be both knowledge, and means of knowledge? The seeming inconsistency vanishes in the light of the fact that *cit-śakti* has the two aspects of being the self and the self which as knower turns towards the world outside.

A further difficulty is the derivation of a plurality of *pramāṇas* (*śabda*, *anumāna* etc.) from the one *pramāṇa* of *cit-śakti*. The plurality is explained as due to the *māyā*-adjuncts with which the *ānava*-permeated soul is bound to work. But since this conditioned state of the state of the soul is merely a passing state, when it is rid of the impurities, these derived *pramāṇas* are thereby dissolved. Surviving this change, there is the one *pramāṇa* of *cit-śakti*. Since *cit-śakti* is admittedly the one *pramāṇa*, there are not many knowledge for the Siddhāntin but only one knowledge.

7

Śaiva Siddhānta and Trika

The philosophy of the Virāśaivas has some characteristics which differentiate it from both the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Trika. It believes like the Trika in the identity of the soul and the Supreme Being, who is the only entity and reality, and who, assuming existence first, becomes the material as well as the efficient cause of all the after creation, while in the Śaiva-Siddhānta the Supreme God is only the efficient cause. Like the Advaita Vedānta, it traces the origin of the world to Avidyā, or Māyā; Māyā, which is also known as Śakti of Śiva, is the origin of matter, as in the Śaiva-Siddhānta, and is also an illusion, as in the Advaita Vedānta. Virāśaivism in this respect agrees apparently with the Trika, where Māyā, the power, Śakti of śiva, is an illusion but real as it comes from the Real, the Supreme God; but it appears to hold that Māyā is real in the beginning of the soul's spiritual journey and unreal in the end.

The individual soul, as in the Trika and Advaita Vedānta, is the Supreme Śiva under the influence of Avidyā or Upādhis, the removal of which can be achieved, not only by Jñāna, knowledge of the Supreme Self, as in the Advaita Vedānta, but also by Kriyā, strict observance of prescribed forms. Virāśaivism compares him who observes these prescribed forms, Kriyā, to a blind man, and him who has the knowledge of the self along and no Kriyā to a lame man; therefore it emphatically insists on the necessity of both Jñāna and Kriyā to achieve the end.

A remarkable feature of Virāśaivism is the slight importance that it attaches to the 36 or 96 Tattvas, the fundamental factors in building up the universe, which are very elaborately and minutely dealt with in the Trika and Śaiva Siddhānta. They are casually alluded to in Virāśaivism, and sometimes an attempt is made by later teachers to explain them. It seems more probable that Virāśaivism did not pay much attention to the metaphysical process of the other Śaiva Schools; on the other hand, it apparently has an ancient metaphysical system which is entirely different from that of the Śaiva Siddhānta, the Trika, and the Sāṅkhya, known as unknown.

Virāśaivism lays more stress on the spiritual and ethical than on the philosophical aspect of religion. It believes that the proper observance of prescribed duties purifies the soul and elevates it step by step, during the course of which the soul, gaining knowledge, is automatically freed from Māyā or Avidyā, on the complete removal of which it becomes united to Śiva. This union consists in becoming entirely one without distinctness or separate existence. It is not 'an inseparable union' like that of the śaiva Siddhānta. This union is called

Mukti and to attain it there are six steps (sthalas-stages) or rungs of ladder, which form the centre of Viraśaiva philosophy and are entirely original to it. It has many technical terms, such as Aṅga, Līṅga, etc., which are not met with in any other branches of Śaivism in the same sense. The Viraśaiva teachers describe the condition of this "union" with the Supreme as "Bayalu, Nirbayalu" meaning "that where there is nothing, void or that where existence itself is not existing" A description which corresponds to that of the Buddha Nirvāṇa; yet the Viraśaiva is a staunch theist, and firmly believes in the existence of the power above all.

In spite of many divergencies in philosophy and ritualism between Viraśaivism and the Śaiva Siddhānta, there appears to be something common to both. We have no authentic books on Viraśaivism written before the 12th century, which would have helped us to ascertain its exact relation to other Śaiva Schools before that date; but after that century, when the revival took place, the sixty-three Canonical Śaiva Saints, whom the Śaiva Siddhānta considers to be its apostles, were raised to the position of Purāṭanas, the ancient ones, the pillars of Viraśaivism as well. There is ample reference to these sixty-three Śaiva Saints in the Vacanas of Basava and his colleagues (1160 A.D.). Their conception of God in the lower stages exactly coincides with that of Śaiva Siddhānta. Many passages from the Vacana-Śāstra contain not only the ideas found in the *Tirumōḍcakam* of Mānikavācagar and other Śaiva Saints, but are also couched in similar words, so as to suggest borrowing. As these two schools exist side by side in Southern India even today, the influence of one over the other and mutual free borrowing of ideas is not an impossibility.

The tendency of Viraśaivism as indicated in the Vacana-Śāstras, a vast literature in Kannada, composed in 12th century A.D., is undoubtedly monistic (Advaita), generally agreeing with the teachings of Śaṅkarācārya. It must be remembered that it does not imitate slavishly the Advaita Vedānta, but that it has a system of its own on the same lines, taking care to avoid 'aridity' for devout souls and softening down considerably the theory of nonentity, which is applicable only in the last stage. But we find later on a tendency on the part of some teachers to interpret the philosophy of Viraśaivism in the light of Viśiṣṭādvaita, Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the *Kriyāsāra* (before 1400 A.D.), following in the foot-steps of Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Brahma-mīmāṃsā*, has tried to give it the colour of Viśiṣṭādvaita and names the Viraśaiva philosophy Śakti-Viśiṣṭādvaita, qualified monism characterised by Śakti. Rāmānuja was bold enough to diminish in his philosophy, if not to banish entirely, Śakti, the important factor of early Vaiṣṇavism. Śrīkaṇṭha retained in his system Śakti, the important factor of early Śaivism also, on account of which his philosophy is styled the Śakti-Viśiṣṭādvaita. Nīlakaṇṭha, undoubtedly a Viraśaiva, believes Śrīkaṇṭha to be also a Viraśaiva—a view which lacks corroboration, and he attempts to show that the philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha is that of Viraśaivism.

Though the ultimate goal of the Viraśaiva philosophy is "merging of the soul in the Supreme", it begins with a belief in the distinctness of the soul from God. To efface this distinctness, the soul has to climb six steps, as already mentioned. Before reaching the first step, called Bhaktasthala, the stage of a devotee or layman, God is viewed as a personal Supreme Being, in the midst of a Samsāra in the shape of wife, children, attendants, a place to live in, from which He enforces his will, etc. The conception of the personality of God vanishes when the individual soul mounts the first step; but the belief in the distinctions between the soul and the deity is still kept up. At this stage an attempt is first made by the individual soul to realise the Supreme Reality. The realisation begun in this step continues in

succeeding stages, increasing step by step, and reaches its climax in the fifth step. Side by side with realisation of the delty, the distinctness, apparent in the first step, goes on decreasing as the individual soul rises higher and higher, and completely vanishes in the fifth step, which is called Śaraṇasthala the stage where the individual soul is completely surrendered to God.

Again, side by side with the decrease of the soul's distinctness, the confirmation of its oneness with God gains ground slowly, and reaches its climax in the fifth step. In the sixth step, called Aikyasthala, there is complete union and identification of the individual soul with Śiva. Then the individual soul is merged in the Supreme, as the ether in a jar is merged in the supreme universal ether. In the beginning there is distinctness, and in the end there is unity. It is probably on the basis of this that the Viraśaiva philosophy is styled Bhedābheda or Dvaitādvaita by Śrīpati Paṇḍita, the author of a commentary on the Bādarāyaṇa-Sūtras named Śrikara or Srīnkar, but Hayavadana Rao understands Śrīpati as propounding views similar to those of the Bhedābheda school of Nimbārka.

But Śrīpati's views appears to agree with the interpretation mentioned above because he calls, again, the Viraśaiva philosophy *Vīśeṣādvaita*, monism with its own speciality. We have seen the speciality of the Viraśaiva philosophy already, namely a speciality in the belief of the unity of the soul with God after full realisation and achievement, or in the Aikya-Sthala only and not before, which is not the case in the Advaita-Vedānta.

8

Śakti Cakra

As we have seen, the ceaseless flow of consciousness perpetually generates new forms within it as some of its powers come to the fore and become manifestly active, while others abide in a potential state within it. In this way novel patterns of energy spontaneously form on the surface of consciousness through its inherent activity, as do waves on the surface of the sea. The arising and subsiding of each wave of cosmic manifestation is marked by a regular sequence (*krama*) of metaphysical events. Following one after another in recurrent cycles, each sequence is aptly symbolised by a rotating wheel (*śakticakra*), the spokes of which are the aspects of the divine creative energy of consciousness brought into play as the wheel revolves. Thus these Wheels collectively represent the primal form or 'archetype-field structure' of all experience. They are infinite in number and the number of spokes in each can vary from one to infinity in accord with the diversity of the configurations of power which form at each stage along the cycle of cosmic manifestation. Scripture says:

These powers become diverse, increasing or decreasing in number, etc., in accord with the divine will (*svātantrya*). In this way, Bhairava becomes manifest as the 'Solitary Hero', as the couple (*yāmala*), as three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven powers, as the Lord of the great Wheel of twelve, a thousand or infinite spokes. (This He) ultimately unfolds as the matter, endowed with all power, of the Wheel of the All.

Like the circles of light produced by a whirling fireband (*alātacakra*), the cycles of divine creative activity manifest as a single Act. As each Wheel rotates, one power after another becomes active, taking over from the one that went before it and blending into the one that follows. The flow of the energy of consciousness moves round the circle in harmony with the rhythm of its pulsation. Thus the Wheels of Energy are the vibrant radiance of Bhairava, the light of consciousness. They represent the plenitude (*pūrṇatā*) of the absolute. Kṣemarāja explains that: "the universe is established and exists because its manifest form is one with the Inner Light of the Lord. Hence it is said to be the Wheel of Energies."

The Doctrine of Vibration teaches that there is an essential identity between the inner world of the subject and the outer world of the object. The universe is equally the outer physical world and the inner world of mind and body. Thus, the emanation of these Wheels corresponds to the creation of both these worlds. Accordingly, Kṣemarāja explains that the

many deities wellknown to those learned in Āgamic lore, grouped and worshipped in circles, represent the biological components of the body and the transient moods, thoughts, etc., of the mind. Śaṅkara is the Lord of the Wheel (*cakreśa*) and hence of both the macro and microcosm. He is the 'source of the power of the Wheel of Energies'. The Wheels of power unfold within Śiva's infinite consciousness, evolving as they do to higher degrees of complexity, and then once more dissolve into the undivided unity of His consciousness. They are generated and withdrawn in harmony with the evolution and involution of Śiva's Spanda energy. This expands and contracts at the transcendental level, beyond the categories of existence (*tattva*), generating as it does so, all these powers. Abhinava explains:

(We can see the many colours) white, red and yellow of the peacock's feathers when they are unfurled, but not when they are folded together. Similarly, if the Lord of the Wheel does not unfold (His powers, He) merges with (His own nature) full of subtle consciousness. He manifests variously through the unfolding and contraction (of His power). Thus by the contraction of one (aspect) and through the unfolding of another (He) appears in (many) forms ranging from the single spoked Wheel to the Wheel of a thousand spokes.

To witness this expansion and contraction and to worship its diverse aspects as goddesses seated in the circles generated by this activity and recognised to be one's own authentic nature, is to worship the Supreme Lord in the fullness of mystic absorption (*turya*). Each Wheel rotates, radiant with the light of consciousness, in a space or spiritual sky (*vyoman*) of its own. Pure consciousness (*samvid*) is the universal space or Great Sky (*mahavyoman*) which embraces all the spiritual extensions which make room for the unfolding of every configuration of experience. Called the 'Sky of Śiva' (*śivavyoman*), the 'Abode of Brahman' (*brahminasthāna*) and the 'Abode of the Self' (*ātmasthāna*), it is at once Bhairava and the supreme form of Śakti (*parākūṇḍalinī*), equally consciousness and its contents. In a sense everything, including consciousness, is empty. As Abhinava says:

The (dawn) sky, though one, appears, radiant white, red and blue, and the clouds accordingly seen various; so pure, free consciousness shines brilliantly with its countless forms, though they are nothing at all.

Śakti represents the all-encompassing fullness (*pūrṇatā*) of the absolute, the ever-shifting power of awareness actively manifesting as the Circle of Totality (*viśvacakra*). Śiva is Void (*śūnyatā*) of absolute consciousness—its supportless (*nirālamba*) and thought-free (*nirvikalpa*) nature. Integral and free, Śiva, the abode of the Void, dissolves everything into Himself and brings all things into being. Fullness pours into emptiness and emptiness pervades fullness. Penetrating suddenly into the fullness of consciousness, all things are at once made part of its absolute and undefinable nature. "(For the yogi who) penetrates into the non-dual Void," teaches the *vijñānabhairava*, "his true nature (*ātman*) is there made manifest." The void actively assimilates all diversity. In the pure subject the flux of objective perception dissolves away. The external personality merges in the supreme subject and the seed of all future diversification is destroyed, thereby freeing the yogi of all casual and *karmic* necessity:

"Well concealed, and attainable only with great effort, is the subtle Void, the chief root of liberation".

To experience this emptiness, the Yogi must penetrate into the initial instant of perception (*prāthamikālocana*) when he directly perceives the object and no dichotomising thoughts have yet arisen in his mind. In this way he finds the centre (*madhyamapada*) between one thought and the next or between two perceptions. In the Heart of his own consciousness, apparent in the Centre, he experiences the initial expansion (*unmeṣa*) of awareness at its most intense, just as it is about to blossom into the diversity of thought. All objectivity is then suddenly dissipated and the Yogi shares in the extraordinary sense of wonder (*camatkāra*) the Lord of Consciousness Himself experiences when he perceives the ideal universe within Himself on the point of emergence. Though this sudden eruption into reality, brought about by a supreme act of grace, the yogi is instantly absorbed in the fully expanded state of the Great Void (*mahāśūnya*). He then moves freely, without obstruction or effort, in the Sky of Consciousness (*cidākāśa*) beyond time and space, at one with the power of awareness which wanders there in its infinite freedom. When all supports have fallen away, the Yogi experiences the Void of the primal vibration (*spanda*) of the absolute as a single, undivided mass of consciousness (*cidekaghana*). The rays of the Wheels as his powers, both physical and mental, are drawn into the vibrating emptiness and the yogi is plunged in the direct actuality of the present. He thus frees himself from the tyranny of the flow of time from the past to the future.

Having checked the pays of one's own Wheel of Energies and drunk the incomparable nectar (of self-realisation), one remains fully satisfied in the (eternal) present, unconditioned by the two times (of past and future).

Merged in the incessant systole and diastole of the Heart of consciousness, the Yogi is no longer a victim of time but its master. He is the conqueror of time, one 'who delights in the relish of devouring time' (*kālagrāsarasika*) and assimilating it into his own eternal consciousness.

(For the yogi) past and future are not different from the present; it is the present itself which becomes divided by the past and future. When they no longer exist, the present also ceases to exist. The Yogi, resting even for an instant in this ocean of consciousness, intent in devouring time, becomes instantly a 'Wanderer in the Sky' (*khecara*) (and is liberated).

According to the *Śvacchandabhairavatāntara*, there are various degrees of Voidness. The Yogi must traverse them all if his extroverted consciousness is to be brought completely to rest in its innate nature. The unchanging (*akrama*) Goddess of Consciousness, the embodiment of mystic absorption (*turiya*), then appears within the Great Pervasion (*mahāvyaṁpti*) of the Supreme Void. This, the Void beyond all degrees of emptiness is called 'Fullness' (*aśūnya*—literally, the 'non-void'). It is described as the compact mass of consciousness and bliss which is the pure dynamic Being (*sattāmātra*) of both the existent and the non-existent. It absorbs all the levels of Voidness and contains them all, pervading them as does oil sesame seeds. The 'Void beyond Mind' which precedes it is the transcendental experience of Śiva. If the yogi

manages to rise beyond this transcendental emptiness, he attains the highest Void which is that of the supreme form of Śiva (*paramaśiva*). Here he experiences a state of transcendence in immanence and immanence in transcendence. Inner and outer become one in the unifying experience of undivided consciousness. Voidness dissolves into Voidness until the Yogi reaches the highest level of undifferentiated consciousness. Free of thought, beyond all distinctions of immanence and transcendence, Śiva and Śati, he attains the supreme place of rest (*viśrāntisthāna*).

When, by means of this practice, the unfolding universe dissolves away in the Void and all that qualifies it in the Sky, and when this Void (itself) dissolves away (like a drop of water in the sea), the Good (*anāmāya*) alone abides. This, O Brahmin, is the essence of the true teachings.

In one of the few places where the author of the *Stanzas on Vibration* takes time to indulge in polemics, he points out that Voidness (*sūnyatā*) of the vibrating power (*spanda*) of consciousness, manifest when all diversity disappears, should not be confused with an empty 'nothing'. The universe of diversity is not annihilated, but recognised to be one. It is void in the sense that it is universally manifest and hence has no distinguishing features. Eternal and free of the contraries, it cannot be contrasted with anything else. Intuited as the throb of one's own awareness, it is never known objectively and hence is essentially undefinable. Although it is said to be the destruction of all objectivity, the Void is not a state of 'non-being' (*abhāva*). Kṣemarāja quotes the *Spacchandatantra* as saying:

The non-void is described as the Void while the latter is nothing at all. O Goddess, that is considered to be nothing wherein all phenomena (*bhāva*) are destroyed (by losing their phenomenal nature).

There can be no place anywhere in experience where we can discover that which is not. The light of consciousness illumines even that which we understand to be non-existent. Being and non-being are merely conceived distinctions; both are qualities superimposed on that which is present directly to consciousness. The absence or non-existence of an object in a particular place is just as much a positive reality as is its presence. Both the perception of its presence as well as its absence are equally apparent to consciousness.

Although the non-dualist Śaiva agrees with the Buddhist who maintains that the true nature of things is essentially unspecifiable (*anirdeśya*), he does not agree that all determination of the emptiness of ultimate reality is an error. Kṣemarāja explains that the highest level of Voidness is the emptiness of reflection awareness, the pure undifferentiated pulsation of the power of consciousness, grounded in the consciousness and bliss of the Self—the Supreme Lord (*kṛpameśvara*) of the universe. If the Buddhist denies the existence of a perceiving subjectivity, how can he say that he has experienced emptiness? An experience of Voidness devoid of the awareness of Self is, from this point of view, little better than that of deep sleep (*suṣupti*). But even then a total loss of all subjective awareness is impossible. Even in deep sleep, or in certain states of contemplative absorption accompanied by ego-loss, some subjective awareness must persist. It would be foolish to believe, say the *Stanzas on Vibration*,

that the subject ceases to exist in these states just because the effort normally directed towards perceiving his object ceases. Once we have fallen deeply asleep there would be no way we could wake up if the subject who directs the movement of awareness out to the objective world ceased to exist. Moreover, if ego-loss is an experience, there must be someone who experiences it. When we awake from deep sleep, we remember that we were sleeping; we can recall that something happened although we do not know what it was. We would not therefore, have been totally unconscious.

Moreover, any state liable to subsequent recall as an event in the past cannot be ultimate. The experience of 'I am' (*aham*) pervades all possible states whether they be the deeper ones of contemplative absorption (*samādhi*) or those closer to the surface consciousness (*vyutthāna*) of the waking state. The supreme state is uncreated (*akṛtrima*) and full of consciousness and action while at the lower states are transitory (*kāddācitka*) and creations of the higher. The emptiness of ego-loss experienced in certain types of absorption are liable to subsequent recall and are therefore transitory, artificial states which must be transcended to achieve the uncreated voidness of pure 'I' consciousness which, because it is always present, can never be recollected. Far from being the ultimate reality, the emptiness of ego-loss can be an obstacle in the way of attaining the supreme realisation. It separates the lower levels of consciousness based on subject-object distinctions from the higher level of pure 'I' consciousness, the fullness (*aśūnya*) of the empty (*śūnya*).

Unlike the lower void of ego-loss, the Supreme Sky (*paravyoman*) of 'I' consciousness is brimming over with countless power of which Śiva is the master. Thus Śiva, Whose body is pure consciousness (*vijñānadeha*), is the Lord of the Wheel of Energies, each of which represent aspects of His divine majesty, the power of His sovereignty (*aīśvarya*) and freedom (*svātantrya*). As His Wheel of Energies revolves, the universe is created and destroyed manifesting in this way His power. The Liberated, at one with Śiva, share in His freedom while those ignorant of their true identity are caught in the movement of this Wheel and so bound to the recurrent round of birth and death:

Happy is the child who sucks at its mother's breast; it is the same breast if fed from in a former life. The husband takes his pleasure in his wife's belly, he was conceived there in the past!

He who was the father is today the son and that son, when tomorrow comes, will be father in his turn.

Such is the flow of *Samsāra*: men are like buckets around a waterwheel!

We experience this creation and destruction, this ceaseless coming and going, as binding only if we fail to recognise that everything abides within the light of consciousness. If we realise that all this is merely the play of the power of consciousness—the rotation of the Wheel of Energies—the world no longer appears to us to be *Samsāra*. Abhinava exclaims:

It is Śiva Himself, of unimpeded will and pellucid consciousness, who is even (now) sparkling in my heart. It is His highest Śakti Herself Who is ever playing at the edge of my senses. The entire world glows at one with that bliss (of 'I-ness'). Indeed, I know not what the word '*Samsāra*' refers to.

In our fallure to contemplate the Lordship of our own nature, consciousness generates thought forms (*vikalpa*) which rise and fall as the Wheel of Energies rotates and we are caught in the seemingly endless wandering from birth to birth. Bhagavatopala quotes *Nāradaśaṅgraha* as saying: "all though it *saṁsāra*, there is no bondage except thought." Trapped by thought on the periphery of the movement of the Wheel, we lose hold of the inwardly unchanging nature of reality and are entangled in the fickle, transient and diverse nature of its outward appearance. Conversely, when through an act of self-awareness, the restless movement of the mind (*citta*) is quelled and thought turns in on itself, the yogi realises the true nature of *Saṁsāra* to be the Wheel of Energies and is no longer bound, even in the midst of the change and diversity of the world.

Worthy of attainment is that reality in which the yogi, brilliant with the rays of (his) consciousness fully formed, is established. (It is) the fully evident arising of an experience free of worldly bonds (*bhava-bandhyodaya*). (It takes place) even while the Self, the radiance of one's own conscious nature, the internal senses which aid it, the group of external senses which depend on it for their activity, taste and the other object of the senses, are (all) fully active.

Although the Wheels of Energies are innumerable, just as the aspects of Śaṅkara's ever emergent power of awareness are beyond number (*kalānā*), only a few are important in the Doctrine of Vibration. According to the Krama doctrine adopted by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the *Stanzas*, foremost among them is a cycle of twelve phases. It represents the twelve aspects of '*Kālasaṅkarṣiṇī*' (The Attractress of Time), the Goddess of Consciousness. Technically called 'the Wheel of the Absolute' (*anuttaracakra*), all the other Wheels emerge from it and are all eventually dissolved in it. Subject, means of knowledge, object and pure cognitive awareness (*pramiti*) are symbolised by Wheels containing eight, twelve, sixteen and four elements respectively. The twelve-spoked Wheel thus represents the cognitive cycle (*pramāṇacakra*) and is symbolised by the sun which passes through the twelve signs of the zodiac in the course of a year.

This wheel represents, amongst other things, the twelve senses, that is, the intellect (*buddhi*) and mind (*manas*) together with the five organs of knowledge (*jñānendriya*) and the five organs of action (*karmendriya*). It also represents the twelve vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet (excluding *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*), symbolising the processes and forces operating directly within Śiva-consciousness (rather than Śakti, the universe, which is symbolised by the consonants). Again, the twelve phases represent the three goddesses Parā Parāparā and Aparā, each subject to a cycle of arising (*sr̥ṣṭi*), persistence (*sthiti*) and withdrawal (*saṁhāra*), together with the manifestation of their own undefinable nature (*anākhyā*). As phases in the cognitive cycle, the twelve powers are worshipped as twelve Kālīs, normally divided into three groups of four. They are subject, the means of knowledge and the object, each appearing in the process of emergence, persistence, withdrawal and an undefinable state (*anākhyā*) beyond them. According to Kṣemarāja, this cycle gives rise to a four-fold cycle of cosmic creation and destruction consisting of:

1. The initial exertion (*udyoga*) that arises within the body of the absolute that ideals to its transformation into universe.

2. The actual manifestation (*avabhāsana*) of the universe within the absolute.
3. The realising (*carvāna*) or reflective awareness of the appearing of the universe within consciousness.
4. The destruction (*vilāpana*) or withdrawal of the universe back into the absolute when it resumes its pristine form as the radiant, Undefinable power (*anākhyāsakti*) of pure consciousness.

This is just one possible way of analysing the Wheel's motion. In fact, it unfolds in many ways, both sequentially and instantaneously, assimilating into itself as it does so the subject, object, means of knowledge and resultant cognitive awareness. The Yogi can, by close attention (*avadhāna*), observe the movement or Spanda of this Wheel in the course of each act of cognition, as it moves from the centre or 'Heart' (*hṛdaya*) of pure consciousness out to the periphery, where it becomes manifest as sense objects. In this way the Yogi comes to realise that all is contained within, and generated through, the cycle of consciousness (*samvīcakra*). Every sound, taste, smell—anything he then perceives—occasions in him a profound state of contemplative absorption. Abhinava describes the sequence (*krama*) of events in the process of this realisation as follows:

This Wheel of the Absolute (*anuttaracakra*) flows out from the Heart through the void of the eyes, etc., onto each sense object. The rays of this Wheel progressively engender the Fire (of the subject), Moon (of the object) and Sun (of the means of knowledge), in (each phase) of the destruction, creation and persistence of the external world. In this way (the yogi) should contemplate (how everything) in the field of sound etc., becomes one with this Wheel as it falls upon it along the path of the voidness of the sense of hearing, etc. This Wheel, which is all things, like a universal monarch, (is followed by its vassals, the senses) wherever it falls in this (all-embracing) process. In this way the Cosmic Path (*adhvan*) (of emanation) spontaneously merges with the great Wheel of Bhairava and (His) surrounding (goddesses) of consciousness. The, even though the universe has merged (into it) leaving behind nothing but its faint latent trace, contemplate this great whirling Wheel as the outpouring (*ucchalattā*) of one's own nature. When all the fuel (of objectivity) is consumed (in the fire of Wheel) and its latent traces are destroyed, contemplate the Wheel on the verge of extinction, in the process of extinction (and finally as totally) extinct. In this way, by this meditation, the universe dissolves into the Wheel and this into consciousness, which finally shines forth void of all objects. The nature of consciousness is such, however, that there is again a new creation, for such (is the activity of the) Goddess of Consciousness (*cinmahēśvarī*). He who every instant dissolves the universe thus into his own consciousness and then emits it is eternity identified with Bhairava.

Abhinava adds that this process is common, in its basic form, to all the meditations leading to the realisation of the absolute (*anuttara*). Moreover, the yogi can meditate on other Wheels apart from this one and still be graced with the same fruits. To be successful, however he must identify with the Lord of the Wheel Who resides in its centre as the pure 'I' consciousness, which is the impelling force (*anuprānitva*) behind the emanation and movement of its powers. Kṣemrāja refers to Him as the 'Churning Bhairava' (*manthānabhairava*) because

'He engenders the creation, etc., of all things (by arousing) and churning His own power.' Śiva churns and whirls the energies around Himself, creating and destroying the universe through the pulsation (*spanda*) of His universal will while He abides unmoving (*acala*) in the Heart—the centre of the Wheel.

He, Śiva, the One of the unmeasured (*akalita*) greatness pulsing and self-established, measures out (*kalayati*) in the Heart, the universe from Earth to Sadāśiva, and by diverse conjunctions (of aspects of His nature), emanates the wonderful sport of emission and withdrawal.

In the centre, Śiva is free in the greatness of the Wheel: he is not a slave of its operations. Fully awakened, He sees and contemplates its movement and effects in all of life's daily activities. The individual soul, bound by the Wheel of the world and of the body, is liberated the instant he discriminates between himself as the embodied and the body, is liberated the instant he discriminates between himself as the embodied and the 'body-world' he lives in. By experiencing the entire universe ranging from Earth, the grossest, to Śiva, the subtlest, he recognises that he is Śiva, the pure 'I' consciousness which eternally delights in the play of the Wheel.

Śambhu triumphs (over all) by the glory of (His) incomparable and undivided Bliss. He, like a newly wedded husband, constantly gazes at His beloved power, who although inwardly undivided, dances in many ways outside (Her) own nature, (Her) diverse forms and seemingly new aspects conceived in the varied light of thought.

Sharing in Śiva's experience of Śakti we participate in His Lordship and are free to create and destroy the subtle body of the mind and sensations (*puryaṣaka*) and so become the Lord of the Wheel. The *Stanzas on Vibration* declares:

But when (the mind of the fettered) is firmly established in one place, then generated and withdrawn (by him at will), his state becomes that of the (universe) subject. Thus he becomes the Lord of the Wheel.

Kṣemarāja, in his *Heart of Recognition* (*Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*), explains where the 'one place' the Yogi should fix his attention is found:

Then, by becoming absorbed in the Integral 'I-ness' which is the bliss of the light of consciousness and the power of the Great Mantra, (the yogi) achieves mastery of the circle of the deities of his own consciousness who engender perpetually the emanation and withdrawal of all things.

To become Lord of the Wheel and be liberated, the Yogi must become one with the absolute (*anuttara*), identified with the power residing in the space of the Heart of consciousness. The Yogi who grasps the true nature of the absolute need not know or practice anything else, not even contemplation of the Wheel of Energies. The Yogi who is unable to merge directly

with the absolute is instructed to penetrate the Centre of the Wheel by contemplating its universal activity and concentrate on the great whirling Wheel as the vibration of his own nature. Through the power of the Great Mantra—'I' (*aham*)—the Yogi must vibrate the circle of powers, thus saturating the rays of his own consciousness with the plenitude of self-awareness. Whatever, he perceives is then filled with the pulsation (*spanda*) of the light of his self-realisation.

(The yogi experiences) stability, satisfaction and merger in the Light to the degree in which consciousness deploys itself and progressively covers objectivity. (He experiences) there the vibration which allows from to realise the supreme freedom everywhere pervaded by the essence.

The unfolding of the Wheel of Energies confers upon the yogi the enjoyment (*bhoga*) and bliss (*ānanda*) of cosmic consciousness. When the Wheel contracts, the yogi's individuality fuses with pure consciousness and he experiences its unconditioned freedom (*svātantrya*). In these two movements yogic powers (*siddhi*) are conferred by the particular waves of energy (*viśeṣaspanda*) of the universal vibration (*sāmānyaspanda*) of consciousness which is the source of liberation (*mokṣa*). Mastery over all things and the realisation of the oneness of consciousness are thus achieved by discovering oneself to be the Lord of the Wheel (*cakreśvarasiddhi*). This liberating realisation issues from a state of uninterrupted absorption in the vibration (*spanda*) of consciousness both in the ecstasy of contemplation 'with the eyes closed' (*nimlāṇasamādhi*), and when the Yogi has risen out of it (*vyūthāna*), to regain the more normal waking consciousness which for him is transformed into a state of contemplation 'with the eyes open' (*unmīlāṇasamādhi*). Thus, whether his eyes are open when awake, or closed when sleeping or meditating, the Yog merges with the pulsation of consciousness which moves like a fire-stick between these two poles generating in him the brilliance of enlightened consciousness and he ■ liberated while still residing in the body:

If (the yogi) resides without a break for three hour in his own nature which shines once (and forever), is free of diversity and is absorbed in contemplation, the mother Brāhmi, etc., and the mistresses of Yoga realised by practice centred on that Wheel together with the Heroes, Aghora, etc., the Lords of the Heroes and the nine-fold god, etc., all become fully manifest and the perfections (*siddhi*), which are the powers generated by practising (attention to the movement of) that Wheel, are attained. These (powers) possess Bhairava's energy. The yogi becomes powerful through it and by virtue of the Śākīnī energies associated with it, various according to (their) diverse forms ranging from Khecari onwards. All these liberate him through this very body itself and (bestow upon him) Supreme Perfection (*paramasiddhi*) (in the practice of yoga which is the realisation of his immanence everywhere) ■ the cosmic order ranging from Earth to Śiva.

Thus for the enlightened Yogi, the power (*prabhava*) of the Wheel of Energies is the Light (*prabhā*) which illumines his mind and the divine breath of the spirit which blows (*vaṭī*) within him as pure—'I-ness'. It impels his every act and perception. Presiding over and

sanctifying his mind and body, it brings all things to rest within his own nature. Again, it bestows upon the Yogi "the ability to ascend in terms of his own essential nature to ever higher levels by foresaking the lower ones." The Yogi penetrates into the Great Light which is his free, undivided nature through the divine rays of his consciousness gathered together in the Wheel of Energies. The Wheel is thus the source of the spiritual power the Yogi enjoys when he achieves the object of his meditation through grace and his purified intuition. But as Kṣemarāja is quick to point out:

It is only a few who, (blessed with) the wealth of absolute contemplation (*anuttarasamādhi*), ascend intuitively (*dhiṣaṇā*) into the light of Śaṅkara which is their own true nature and lordship of the Wheel of consciousness; others, afflicted by embodied egoity, do not do so.

The Wheel of Energies can function in two opposite ways. It can either be the source of bondage for those deluded by *Māyā*, or else represent the powers the enlightened achieve through Yogic practice. The same forces which bind and condition man can also lead him to the higher levels of enlightenment. That which binds the ignorant sets free the man of wisdom. We shall see how this work in the following account of the Wheels of Energies contemplated in the Spanda tradition as presented by Kṣemarāja.

The Wheel of Vāmeśvarī

Again borrowing from Krama doctrine, Kṣemarāja explains that the pure universal pulsation of consciousness (*sāmnāyaspanda*) is manifest in five cycles or pulses of power (*viśeṣasāṃda*) represented by five concentric circles. These circles symbolise the states of individualised consciousness ranging from the subtlest, most internal and subjective to the grossest, most external and objective. Four of these groups of energies serve as a link between absolute, unmanifest consciousness and the realm of manifestation. They are:

1. The circle of *Khecari* energies which constitute the individual subject.
2. The circle of *Gocari* energies which are the power of the inner organ of mentation (*antaḥkāraṇa*).
3. The circle of *Dikcari* energies which are the powers of the senses, and
4. The circle of *Bhūcari* energies which represents the outer objects of the senses.
5. In the centre of these four circles is the fifth—the circle of pure consciousness. It represents the absolute as cosmic motion transfigured into the inner revolving power of pure consciousness. The centre of the fifth circle is empty. In the Void of the Centre the power of awareness (*cicchakti*) is 'established on the thought-free plane of the Supreme Lord's inner nature'.

This power wanders in the void of the absolute, the sacred space which abides for the divine eternity before the cosmogonic split between subject and other occurs. It is the primordial outpouring (*ullāsa*) of the undivided awareness of universal consciousness within the 'own nature' (*svarūpa*) of all things and within which all spatially perceived diversity (*diṣyamānabheda*) emerges. This power is the Supreme Goddess Who acts as the root-consciousness and ground of sensory perception. She personifies the powers of the internal and external senses as well as their objects, both inner emotive states, thoughts, etc., and outer

physical sensations. In Her wanderings in the Sky of Consciousness (*cidākāśa*) She perceives all things. When the split merges within consciousness between subject and object and they are perceived as a multitude of diverse entities, She is the source of the positive and negative responses of perceiver to the perceived. These responses are implemented by the four circles which evolve out of Her as aspects of Her nature when this split occurs.

Hence this Goddess is called 'Vyomavāmesśvari', 'Vyomeśvari' or simply 'Vāmeśvari'. She is the Goddess (*īśvari*) who resides in the Sky (*vyoman*) and emits, splits out or vomits (Sanskrit root *Vam*) the universe of personal experience out of the universal experience of the absolute, much as a person suffering from cholera vomits out everything in his stomach. She is the fullness (*pūrṇatā*) of pure consciousness and the source of the other limited forms of awareness manifest as Her four circles of powers. She personifies the pure subjectivity which operates in all individual subjects and becomes manifest at the instant of complete realisation. Kṣemarāja explicitly identifies Vāmeśvari with the Spanda principle that brings about the extending perception (*prathā*) of the Triad of power, Supreme (*parā*), Middling (*parāparā*) and Inferior (*aparā*). Thus She impels every form of emanation at all levels of manifestation.

As Her name 'Vāmā' (meaning 'left', 'perverse' or 'contrary') indicates, She accounts for a reversal or, more precisely, a 'double-reversal' within the absolute. For the unenlightened She is the source of diversity and, as such, She is the potential cause of bondage—the 'reverse' of Śiva state of unity and freedom. For the enlightened She is the power of awareness which 'runs counter to the normal course of transmigratory existence'. For them, Vāmā represents the spiritual energy (*kuṇḍalinī*) latent in man when it awakens and illumines his consciousness. Her powers: "lay hold of, and throw down from a great height the essence of diversity and bestow the perfect oneness (*abheda*) of unity in the midst of multiplicity (*bhedābheda*)." The fettered soul is caught in the force of the downward rush of the flux of emanation from the undivided (*abheda*) level to that of division (*bheda*). The enlightened soul, however, merges in the current which flows from the level of diversity to that of unity.

The Circle of Khecari Energies. The previous level was the sphere of the universal subject; this level is the sphere of the individual subject. While the former represents the experience of the oneness of pure consciousness enjoyed by the enlightened, this circle represents the powers which accompany this realisation. The powers of Khecari are the very essence of the expansion of consciousness and bliss. They are the attributes of consciousness when it is in its most expanded, unconditioned state. These are five omnipotence, omniscience, perfect completeness, freedom from natural law and eternality. At the level of the pure individual subjectivity which emerges when consciousness limits itself prior to any contact with the subjective sphere, these same powers function as the five obscuring coverings (*kañcuka*) which limit the five divine attributes of consciousness. These are:

The power of limited action (*kalāśakti*),

The power of limited knowledge (*vidyāśakti*),

The power of attachment (*rāgaśakti*),

The power of natural law (*niyatīśakti*), and

The power of time (*kālāśakti*).

The Circle of Gocari Energies. The word 'go', Kṣemarāja tells us, means 'speech'. Accordingly, the three powers which operate in this sphere are the primal energies of the mind (*antaḥkarana*) said to constitute the subtle, inner discourse (*saṃjālpa*) of thought. For the

unenlightened these energies function *via* the intellect (*buddhi*), ego (*ahamkāra*) and mind (*manas*) as the powers to determine distinction (*bhedanīśaya*), to identify the Self with diversified objectivity (*bhedābhimāna*) and to form thought-constructs centred on diversity (*bhedavikalpa*), respectively. For those who enjoy a state of grace, they give rise to pure determinate awareness in the intellect (i.e., the direct experience of unity); pure self-arrogation in the ego (i.e., the reflective awareness that 'I am Śiva'), and pure intent in the mind (i.e., the synthesis of diversity into a unified whole).

The Circle of Dikcarī Energies. Moving further out we reach the sphere of the ten senses (five of knowledge and five of action), symbolised by the ten directions (*dik*). Through these sensory powers the unenlightened perceive only multiplicity. When these same powers have been purified and energized by Śiva's grace, the awakened Yogi perceives through them Śiva's pure unity revealed in the diversity of sensations.

The Circle of Bhūcarī Energies. This is the outermost circle—the sphere of objectivity—'Earth' (*bhū*). The energies operating in this sphere manifest as the five objects of the senses: form, taste, sound, smell and touch. The enlightened experience their consonant harmony (*tanmāya*) with the senses and so their ultimate identity with consciousness. These powers 'are manifest as the body of the light of consciousness for the awakened, while they display limitation everywhere to others.'

The Wheel of the Senses

Sensory activity is the most tangible expression of the power of consciousness to know and act. The physical organs of sight and hearing, for example, are merely 'doors' (*dvāra*) or channels through which this power flows: they do not in themselves account for the sensory perception of light and sound. They are merely the loci (*golaka*) of particular aspects of the pervasive power of universal consciousness to know all things in all possible ways. Kṣemarāja explains that the Lord of Consciousness operates the body and senses of each individual by His own power of Māyā. The senses are instruments of the power of awareness projected out of consciousness through this same power. Thus the perceptions and activities of the countless living beings in the universe function as the senses of the Supreme Lord of Consciousness. They are aspects of His power of awareness impelled by His Spanda energy to activity. Thus the *Stanzas on Vibration* teach:

That principle should be examined with effort and respect because this, its uncreated freedom, prevails everywhere. By virtue of it the senses, alongwith the inner circle, (although) unconscious, behave as if conscious in themselves, move towards their objects, rest (there) and withdraw (from them).

The senses are figuratively arranged in two concentric circles. The outer circle consists of the ten senses: five of knowledge (*jñānendriya*) and five of action (*karmendriya*). The inner circle is the inner organ of mentation (*antahkarana*). It consists of the intellect (*buddhi*), ego (*ahamkāra*) and mind (*manas*). The Doctrine of Vibration stresses that Spanda can be experienced through the operation of the senses. By practice and Śiva's grace, the Yogi attains

a state of alert awareness. He then ranks amongst the Awakened (*prabuddha*). Awakened, he can perceive Spanda as the Vibration of consciousness that animates the body and is the impulse which drives the senses. By attending carefully to this vibration he experiences the unity between himself, Śiva (Who is universal consciousness) and the world of objects and perceptions. At first he experiences this only occasionally, but once this experience becomes permanent, he is Fully Awakened (*siprabuddha*) and, as much, liberated. To understand how this works, we turn now to a description of the senses.

The Intellect (buddhi). The individual soul divested of all sensation and thought reposes in a state of deep sleep in union with the primordial substance (*prakṛti*) from which the objective world (including the psycho-physical organism) is generated. The substance of all that can be perceived objectively in any form, this primordial matter is understood to be a power of consciousness technically called Śāmbhaviśakti. This energy is roused to activity by consciousness personified as the god Svatantrēśa, otherwise known as Ananta. The equilibrium (*sāmarasya*) of its three qualities (*guṇa*) of *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas* is then disturbed (*prakṣubdhā*) and the lower principles are generated from them. The first principle to emerge is the intellect. Experience at this level is like that of waking from sleep. For a moment we are not clearly aware even of ourselves but merely register that things exist around us and that we are waking up. Similarly, the intellect is free of both the sense of ego and the determinative mental activity of the mind. Thus the images that appear in the intellect are apprehended directly, its function being merely to illumine the products of sensory and mental activity projected into it where this existence (*sattā*) is registered.

The Ego (ahaṁkāra). The emergence of the ego marks the next stage in the process through which we come to know ourselves as individuals and the world about us. The ego's function is to appropriate and personalise experience—to link it together as 'my own'. It arises from the mistaken notion that the light of consciousness reflected in the intellect and coloured by objectively perceived phenomena is the true nature of the Self. Thus, the personal ego falsely identifies the Self with that which is not the Self and vice versa. The individual soul is bound by this mistake is identify which functions not only in relation to the subtle, inner operations of the intellect, but also in relation to gross, physical objects.

'I am wealthy', 'I am thin', 'I delight in the senses', 'I am content', 'I breathe', (and when in deep sleep) 'I am empty': egoity (*asmitā*) is observable on these six levels.

The ego which forms a part of the inner mental organ should not be confused with the pure egoity (*ahaṁbhāva*) of consciousness. 'I' consciousness is of two kinds. One is pure and is Śiva, the light of consciousness reposing in itself. The other is a product of *Māyā*. The pure ego rests on pure consciousness and the impure ego on outer objective forms.

(Universal) 'I' consciousness rests on freedom whose primary characteristic is perfect autonomy. It is without any break, like an inward consent (*antarābhyupagamakalpa*). It is the Self which abides as the living being whose nature is the essence of the light of consciousness, pure and unsullied by any association with the body, etc. It is (perfectly real) and not a thought-construct.

False identification conditions this pure egoity (*ahantā*), limiting it to the psycho-physical organism. It is imperfect (*apūrṇa*) and hemmed in on every side by the limitations imposed upon it by its physical and mental environment. Pure egoity is uncreated (*akṛima*) and free. The individual ego is a creation (*kṛtakatva*) imagined into existence (*kalpita*) by pure 'I' consciousness. Even so, there is in fact only one ego which operates within different parameters. The pure ego functions at the universal level of cosmic subjectivity (*viśvapramāṭṛtā*) and the impure ego at the individual level of the *Māyā*-subject. By recognising that 'I' (*aḥam*) is Śiva and that his ego is not that of the fettered souls (*paśu*), we realise our identity with Śiva and are liberated. We must stick to the abiding conviction that our authentic ego and Śaṅkara are identical. To have an ego is not in itself harmful or bad:

O Supreme Lord, although I have understood that pride is vain, even so, if I do not measure (the expense) of my own nature by the pride of thinking, 'I am made of You', all joy comes to nought.

This pure ego is *Spandaśakti*. It manifests as the individual ego which transmits the impulse (*saṁrambha*) of consciousness that activates the vital breaths animating the mind and body. According to Kṣemarāja the Doctrine of Vibration teaches:

Anointed by a drop of the nectar (*rasa*) of egoity even the unconscious becomes conscious. Thus this reality, infusing consciousness into them, renders both the senses and the conceived subject (*kalpitapramāṭṛ*), falsely assumed to be the impelling force (*prerakatva*) behind their activity, capable of performing their functions. Thus (the individual soul) falsely assumes that he impels the senses to action.

The individual ego is the source of all other senses. As uninterrupted self-awareness, it is called the Sun of Knowledge. Around the sun of the ego rotate the twelve suns of the other senses. They emerge from it and are drawn back into it just as, according to Śaiva cosmography, the twelve suns, corresponding to the signs of the zodiac emerge from and return to the thirteenth sun. Thus the function of the ego is the self-arrogation of experience through the identification it engenders between consciousness and the senses which are its instruments of knowledge and action. Although those ignorant of the authentic identity of the ego are bound by its operations, it is nonetheless an essential component of individualised consciousness. Directing its sensory and mental activity, it reflects in the microcosm the supremacy of the universal ego that is the source and master of all that takes place in the domain of manifestation.

Mind (manas). The ego full of the brilliance of *saṁtva* is the source of the mind (*manas*) and the five organs of knowledge (*jñānendriya*). Mind (*manas*) is the instrument through which consciousness fashions specific, clearly defined mental representations of the world of sensations, which pours into the inner mental organ through the channels of the outer senses and is reflected in the intellect. Like a chisel which cuts away the unwanted stone from a block of marble to reveal the image contained within it, mind (*manas*) excludes all the sensations not immediately useful to the perceiver and focuses his attention onto those that are. Without mind (*manas*) our field of awareness would be flooded with thousands of indiscernible

sensations. It would be impossible to follow a sequence of events or go about any task without succumbing to a thousand distractions. A faint sound heard in the distance would be registered with the same intensity of awareness as the music we were listening to in a concert hall.

Manas selects and isolates specific sensations from the mass reflected in the intellect. This sensation is then compared with similar sensations perceived in the past, the latent traces of which are stored in the intellect and named according to the prevailing linguistic convention (*saṅketa*). The two sensations—one in the past, the other in the present—are held together by the continuity of awareness between these two moments and so we come to recognise that the two sensations belong to the same class and *manas* is able to form a discursive representation (*vikalpa*) of the sensation perceived. *Manas* thus not only analyses and dissociates individual sensations from each other, but also synthesises a set of sensations into a single whole. For example, a series of discrete sensations occurring in successive moments is grouped together by *manas* in the notion of action or in the notion of relation in general. The basis of this determinative activity (*anuvyasāya*) is unity-in-difference (*bhedābheda*) and its function, the structured ordering of sensations.

Manas (in the normal states of waking and dreaming) is always moving (*cañcala*) from one sensation to the next. Unlike the external organs of knowledge, *manas* is not confined to a specific field of operation (*viśaya*). It can equally well apprehend sound, taste, smell, etc., and thus relate them to one another to form a single, coherent picture of the world of physical objects. As no activity is possible in the absence of a will to act, *manas* is said to be full of will (*icchā*) or desire to move on to, and process, different sensations. It is driven to its task by the ego's incessant seeking to appropriate and assimilate experience. The pure sensation clothed in thought and differentiated from other sensations by *manas* and personalised by the ego (*ahaṁkāra*) is then presented to the intellect, where it becomes known to consciousness.

Maheśvarānanda, explaining the process of perception and the function of the inner mental organ, compares its three constituent elements ■ waves (*kallola*) which form in the ocean of the Heart (*hṛdaya*) of consciousness. As they rise out of the Heart of pure 'I' consciousness, they carry with them some of its egoity and spill it out onto the object of perception. The 'thisness' (*idantā*) of objectivity is drawn into intimate relationship with the 'I-ness' of subjectivity. The three senses of the inner mental organ "drag 'thisness' there (into the ocean of the Heart) and project 'I-ness' out here (onto the object of perception)." There is a movement (*spanda*) of awareness in two directions—from inner to outer and outer to inner. This movement free of temporal distinctions, is a great wave (*mahātaraṅga*) of the ocean of consciousness. From this great wave originate the smaller waves which are the movements of the outer senses, just as ripples or eddies follow in the wake of large waves. Thus the power of the Heart of consciousness emanates out of the outer world and back, vibrating as it moves. Although the entire process of perception constitutes a single event, Maheśvarānanda analyses the pulsation of the Heart into three phases as follows:

Primal vibration (ādyaspaṇḍa). This is the initial throb of awareness that pulses in the subject. It corresponds to the tendency (*anumukhya*) inherent in the power of consciousness to expand out into universal manifestation.

Intense vibration (parispaṇḍa). This is the universal vibration of consciousness that reveals itself in the outpouring of awareness that takes place during each act of perception.

Vibrating radiance (sphurattā). In the final phase of perception it matures into a fully formed cognition which is imprinted on consciousness through the pulsing and illuminating activity of the senses. The five-fold universe of sound, taste, touch, smell and sight now becomes fully manifest, brilliant with the radiance of consciousness.

We move on now to examine the nature and function of the ten outer senses.

The Outer Senses. All of manifest creation can be divided into two primary categories, namely, conscious and unconscious manifestations (*cid-* and *acidābhāsas*)—sentient beings and inert objects. The ability to know and act is the very life (*jīvana*) of sentient beings, and their knowledge and action are most tangibly externally manifest through the functions of the senses. Coupled with the limited power of knowledge, the power of limited action (*kalāśakti*) constitutes the conditioned agency which operates through the inner mental organ, impelling and guiding and functions of the senses, linking together the stream of data coming in through the organs of perception and the outgoing responses through the organs of action.

The Organs of Knowledge. According to Spanda doctrine, the five organs of perception—the senses of taste, touch, smell, hearing and sight—are aspects of the radiant pulsation (*sphurattā*) of consciousness. Each of these five senses is confined to its own locus (*golaka*) in the body, situated where it can pick up the maximum amount of information in the most efficient way. Like a lamp set inside a perforated jar, the light of consciousness radiates through the senses, freely limiting itself so that each one is confined to its own specific field of operation (*viśaya*). The Kashmiri Śaivite rejects the view that the sources of the senses are the gross physical elements. He contends that they are the products of the ego (*ahamkāra*) brilliant with the lustre of *Sattva*, insofar as all sense perception is accompanied by 'I' consciousness. The notions: 'I hear', 'I see', or 'I smell', etc., are always attended by the ego. As we have seen, from the Kashmiri Śaiva point of view, perception is an activity as well as a state of awareness. Knowledge and action are two, interdependent categories; they are never found apart. As instruments of the act of perception, the senses require the conscious agency of the ego. In the absence of an agent who implements their activity, we would have to posit the existence of another instrument to perform this function and there would be no reason why that two should not require a third and so on, leading to an infinite regress.

However, from the point of view of a phenomenology of sensory perception, the ego alone does not fully account for the existential being of the senses. The senses can have no real existence as such, without the objects with which they are correlated. Thus, along with the senses, the ego, full of the inertia of *Tamas*, generates the pure sensations (*lanmātra*) of taste, touch, smell, etc., corresponding to each sense organ. In this way the essential elements of sensory perception, namely, the perceiving ego, the senses and the perceived sensation are accounted for by the activity of the sentient subject.

The Organs of Action. The organs of action presuppose the existence of the organs of perception. They are generated from the ego as instruments to implement its responses to the sensations coming in through them. While the activity of the organs of action is accompanied by bodily movement, the activity of the organs of perception is not. Although bodily movement is essentially one, it is differentiated into five categories according to the diverse conceptions we form of its nature. Handling, picking up or grasping is the activity of the hand. Excretion

is the activity of the excretory organs. Locomotion is the activity of the feet and emission that of the sexual organ. These four are said to correspond to the outer actions of appropriation (*ādāna*), rejection (*hāna*), both and neither. The fifth action is speech; it is internal and hence does not belong to any of these four categories. Although each organ of knowledge is invariably associated with only one specific locus, this is not the case with the organs of action. A lame man can move about from place to place without the use of feet and we can pick up things with parts of the body other than the hands.

To conclude: the inner and outer senses are aspects of the vibration of consciousness and, as such, are the channels through which consciousness becomes manifest as the world of perceptions. Together they are said to be 'the vibration of the glory of consciousness'. Through this vibration the yogi catches a glimpse of the wonder of the Divine, brilliantly manifest in its creation. By its Light, he ultimately realises Śiva's ubiquity as all things and that this is, in fact, his own presence everywhere.

9

Śākta Yoga

Practitioners who are unable to grasp the subtleties of Śāmbhava and progress with this method, should then turn to the next lower stage—that of *śākta yoga*, the *yoga of Self-contemplation*. In this practice one uses the mind and imagination to constantly contemplate the real nature of the Self as taught in the philosophy of Śaiva monism. One is supposed to think repeatedly that one is everything and yet also beyond everything. All creation is one's own play. It is the manifestation of one's own divine powers, having been created through his own divine and independent will, not aided by anything else. One is to imagine oneself as omniscient and omnipotent pure consciousness (*Tantrasāra*, 21). Practice of this form of Self-contemplation carries the impression of these truths deep into both one's conscious and subconscious mind. With time and practice one comes to experience the divine and absolute consciousness as his real self. It no longer seems to be simply an imagined concept superimposed on oneself by the mind. Having developed a firm belief in the divinity, infiniteness, and purity of one's real nature, one is able to wash away past impressions of one's limitations, attain a Śākta Samāveśa of Absolute Reality, and develop the ability to practice Śāmbhava Yoga which is the only direct means of realising the divine nature of the Self in its highest aspect. In fact, all types of Śaiva Yoga have to rise to the level of Śāmbhava in order to yield this highest goal of life.

To clarify, Śākta is a practice in "pure ideation" (*śuddhaviśāla*), the Yoga of Self-contemplation, imagination, meditation, etc., while Śāmbhava is a practice in "non-ideational" (*nirvikāla*) realisation, a yoga free from all conceptual knowing and gross word images. Because Śākta Yoga is a practice in correct conceptual knowing, in which the practice of mental ideation dominates, it is also called *jñāna yoga*.

The Nididhyāsana practice of the Vedānta school is similar to the *śākta yoga* of Śaivism. However, the post-Śaṅkara Vedāntins have increasingly stressed the importance of the philosophical theories of Vivarta, while ignoring the practical aspects of the theology as taught by the ancient sages. Due to extensive interaction with Buddhist logicians through decades, the Vedāntins copied and assimilated a great deal from Buddhism, and slowly drifted towards a kind of situation that comes close to nihilism. They ignored the actual practice of Śaṅkara's Vedānta to such an extent that most of them today are not even aware of the existence of some very important Tantric works on Vedānta like (1) the *Vidyāratnasūtra*

by Gauḍapāda, (ii) the Prapañcasāratāntṛa by Śaṅkara, (iii) the commentary on it by Padmapāda, (iv) the tenth-century Śrīvidyāṛṇavatantra by Vidyāranya and so on. Because of this drifting away from the practical aspects of Vedānta, many of its scholars have come to doubt the validity of Śaṅkara's authorship of Saundaryalaharī. One of these scholars tried to prove that Śaṅkaradeva, a Śaivasiddhāntin of the Tamil region, had been the author of Saundaryalaharī. These scholars apparently don't accept that the sophisticated theological doctrines contained in Saundaryalaharī are absolutely foreign to the simple Śaivasiddhānta doctrines of *caryā*, *kriyā* and *yoga*.

Disciples of J. Krishnamurthy and certain logicians from the West are inclined to criticize Śākta Yoga as being a practice in self-hypnotism. It is true that its method of practice seems to be very much like hypnotism, but in reality it is far more profound. Hypnotised people are made to forget their individual notions and to adopt new ones in accordance with the will of the hypnotiser. Whether people become stronger, healthier, and wiser depends of course on the quality of the hypnotisers (or the material being used), and what they are attempting to do with their power. There is always the danger that one set of illusions may simply be substituted for another. But according to Śiva philosophy all of us are already hypnotized by the effects of *māyā*, by thoughts of our own limitations and inadequacies. The practice of Śākta Yoga, as discussed above, helps us wash away the hypnotic effects of *māyā*, by means of deepening the impression of Vidyā, the correct knowledge. Śākta Yoga impresses on us our infinity, eternity, divinity, potency, etc., the dispels the false limiting impressions caused by *māyā*. This is more a process of dehypnotizing, as it removes the hypnotic effect of our limitations (*māyā*), and brings us back to our real and essential nature.

There are various other names associated with this practice of Yoga. Śākta has been defined as a practice in "refining ideation" (*vikalpaśamskāra*), that is, a process of bringing about gradual perfection in the correct conceptual knowledge of a person (*Tantrāloka*, IV.2, 3). Śākta Yogins have to impress on themselves two aspects of their real nature: pure transcendental unity and universal divinity (*Tantrasāra*, 21). This is to be accomplished through several types of deep and constant imaginative contemplation known symbolically as sacrifice (*yāga*), oblation (*homa*), repetition (*japa*), vow (*vrata*), union (*yoga*) and so on. These are all metaphorical in character.

Another metaphorical or symbolic name given to Śākta Yoga is *sattarka* (*ibid.*, 23), the Yoga of correct reasoning. *Sattarka* is reasoning that is based neither on any of the objective experiences of ordinary people still deluded by *māyā*, nor on the conventions and arguments set forth by them. It is a logic inspired by the direct realization of the Self by the Self, a logic started by perfect beings or Siddhās. Still another name for this is *bhāvana*. The root *bhu* means "to exist," and the word *bhāvanā* means "to bring into existence." Śākta yoga is a *bhāvanā* that brings into existence the correct understanding of the truth that *māyā*, with the help of imposed forgetfulness, had pushed back into the field of nonexistence (*Tantrasāra*, 21). This *bhāvanā*, of Trika Yoga should not be confused with the *bhāvanā* that appears in the philosophical texts of the Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya schools.

There is a special type of Śākta Yoga known as Kālīnaya. It was originated by one Śivānandanātha about whom we know very little. He imparted it to his three female disciples named Keyūravatī, Kalyāṇikā, and Madanikā. We know that Govindarāja learnt it from Keyūravatī and then imparted it to the great Śaiva philosopher Somānanda. Kālīnaya

reached Abhinavagupta through the line of Ujjāta, Udbhata etc. Erakanātha, the disciple of Kalyāṇikā, engaged himself in attaining supernatural powers and did not initiate any disciple in the *paṭh*. This information about the origin and spread of Kālinaya has been provided by Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantrāloka* (III. 192-203). He bases the information on the *Kramakellī* by Abhinavagupta and quotes a long passage from it (*Tantrāloka*, V. 192-93). Passages in *Kāśmīra-apabhraṃśa*, quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrasāra* and *Parātriśikāvivaraṇa*, may have been drawn from the sayings or works of the above-mentioned three female perceptors. These three highly respected yoginis may have preferred to teach in the language of the common people, as did Lalleśvari in the fourteenth century A.D. Śivānanda, being the great-grand teacher of Somānanda, may have flourished sometime in the eighth century A.D. Exact dating is difficult because these Yogins tended to live long lives so that their time cannot be strictly calculated at the rate of twenty-five per generation.

The term Kālinaya can be understood as follows. Naya can be thought of as a doctrine, and Kālī in Kashmir śaivism is a name given to the power of the Absolute God. This power is called Kālī because ■ conducts Kalanā, the manifestation of the divine activities of God. Kalanā is different from and should not be confused with Kalpanā. Kalpanā is imagination, conducted in one's own mind, while Kalanā is a kind of transmutation brought about by the divine essence of God (*Tantrāloka*, IV. 172-76). It is the outward manifestation of inwardly existent phenomenon.

Kālinaya is practiced in the following manner. In Śākta Yoga, kālī is visualised in four aspects. It conducts all the divine functions in the fields of (1) absolute unity, (2) unity in diversity, and (3) complete diversity. While these are its three main aspects, there is a fourth, (4) the all-pervading aspect also. Each of these aspects of Kālī is supposed to be contemplated upon as it relates to the divine activities of creation, preservation, and absorption. (An example with creation would be: (1) the absolute unity of creation, (2) the absolute diversity of creation, (3) the unity in diversity of creation, (4) the all-prevading aspect of creation, and likewise with preservation and absorption.) In this way the number of Kālīs is raised to twelve. These Kālīs, constitute Śakticakra, or the wheel of the divine powers of God (*Tantrasāra*, 28). These Kālīs, personified as goddesses, have been eulogized in Siddhanātha's *Kramastotra*, certain stotras of Abhinavagupta, the *Cidgaganacandrikā*, of Śrīvatsa (wrongly known as Kālidāsa), and a scriptural work named *Pañcaśatikā*, quoted by Jayaratha. All the poetic descriptions of Kālīs, found in these works are merely symbolic in character, because the kālī of Kashmir Śaivism is the abstract divine power of God and not some deity with a subtle divine form, as is the Kālī in *Durgāsaptaśatī*.

Practitioners of Śākta Yoga, practicing kālinaya, have to imagine themselves to be the master of the wheel of divine powers. They have to visualise the divine role of these powers with respect to all of phenomenal existence appearing as the trinity of subject, object, and the intermediate means of knowing, called respectively *pramāṭṛ*, *pameya*, and *pramāṇa*. The practitioners visualise this trinity in the twelve varieties appearing in creation, preservation, dissolution, and absolute position. Then they imagine themselves as having assimilated all these phenomenal varieties, one by one, into their own Selves through their twelve divine powers visualised as the twelve kālīs absorbing them. Through this practice students have to impress upon themselves their complete mastery of twelve aspects of the divine essence. This highly complex and abstract worship of Kālī in its many forms, which employs this

special kind of contemplative imagination, and which is practiced through a clear conviction that everything is One—a pure non-dualism—is significantly different from the ritualistic Kālī-worship prevalent in Bengal. This is true even though both forms of Kālī-worship are Tantric in origin and Character.

The above-mentioned varieties of Śākta Upāya, e.g. Yāga, homa, etc., require a very deep and comprehensive form of contemplation, which absorbs simultaneously all phenomenal existence into the practitioner's infinite I-consciousness. This practice is so difficult that only the most accomplished yogins like Abhinavagupta can use it successfully (Tantrāloka, IV. 278).

Śivānandanātha developed an easier type of Śākta Upāya by taking the above-mentioned twelve categories in a definite order of succession and making them the targets, one by one, of contemplative meditation and subsequent absorption. As Krama is the Sanskrit word for succession, this easier type of Śākta Upāya came to be known as Kramanaya. Much has been written about the kramanaya by different yogins, and Jayaratha quotes many of them in his commentary on the Tantrāloka. In fact, this krama method of Śākta Upāya became so popular with practitioners of the Trika system in Kashmir, that many teachers like Jayaratha mentioned it along with the Trika as an independent system. (Tantrāloka, V.XIII.435).

This tendency to consider the Krama system as separate, while still somewhat prevalent in Abhinavagupta's time, was actually only indicative of the popularity of Kramanaya practice. Had it actually been an independent system of theology, it would not have been discussed in such detail as an integral part and important variety of Śākta Upāya, but to Śāmbhava as well (Tantrāloka, III. 250-53). It has also been discussed as an important element of the Dhyāna type of Āṇava Upāya (Tantrāloka, II. 23-27; Tantrasāra, 36).

Abhinavagupta quotes several passages from Āgamas, while referring to different systems of Sādhana, such as Vāma, Dakṣiṇa, Kula, Mata, Trika, etc. Such passages occur in his commentary on Parātriśikā (V. 92). Jayaratha does this as well (Tantrāloka, V. I. 48-49). In none of these scriptural passages is there any mention of krama as an independent system of philosophical practice.

J.C. Chatterjee, the pioneer research scholar who worked on Kashmir Śaivism, was mistaken in announcing Krama as an independent system of theological practice, and unfortunately most of today's research scholars have adopted his view without taking the above-mentioned facts into consideration.

In summary, the Krama doctrine of the twelve Kālīs is an important element of all three Upāyas and an integral part of the Trika system. As such it cannot be considered an independent system of practice. This variety of Śākta Upāya, standing within the Trika system, has enjoyed special popularity among the ancient practitioners of Kashmir Śaivism.

When students perfect the practice of Śākta Yoga, their practice automatically attains the status and character of Śāmbhava Yoga. According to the philosophy, the sāmbhava and Śākta methods of Yoga are meant only for those aspirants whom Lord Śiva has blessed with a forceful divine grace. Only these special devotees find the intense interest and quickly attain success in the practice of these two superior types of yoga. Śāmbhava is also known as abhedopāya, the monistic means of salvation, and Śākta is called Bhedābheda Upāya, the monodualistic means (Tantrāloka, I. 230).

10

Śaktipāta

That indescribable supreme state which is revealed in a spontaneous moment (of grace) regardless of time or place to an earnest devotee, while he has been absorbed continuously in spiritual practice for an unknown period, confers supreme joy (*ānanda*) that wipes off all doubt and fear whatsoever. That is verily the true accomplishment of celestials, for manes and for human beings. By whose grace this happens, to That Great, Preceptor of supreme splendour who is my own Self, this prostration ■ made.

Rediscovery of Śaiva faith was made around the ninth century A.D. in Kashmir, conspicuously by Vasugupta to whom the *Śiva-Sūtras* were revealed by Lord Śiva Himself. Vasugupta's *Spanda Kārikā*, a purport of the *Śiva-Sūtras*, was elaborated by his well-conducted disciple, Kallāṭa by name Kallāṭa Bhaṭṭa is therefore known as the first *ācārya* of the Spanda order of Kashmir Śaivism, which is also called *Trika Śāstra* (or *Śāśana*), because it evidently discusses the three modes of Reality viz. *Nara*, *Śiva* and the connecting link *Śakti* (*naraśaktiśivātmakam trikam*, Abhinavagupta, *Parātrīśikā Vivaraṇa*) precisely known as *apara*, *para* and *parāpara*, an evidence of the monistic character of the Tantras. Last Somānandanātha's *Śiva Dṛṣṭi* and Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* respectively introduced and elucidated the *Pratyabhijñā* thought by which name Kashmir Śaiva Mysticism is known today.

Before this development, according to Swami Laksman Joo, the last exponent of Kashmir Śaivism, the Kula system, advocating the highest form of Śiva, had been introduced in Kashmir sometime in the fourth century A.D. and the Krama system, connected with *rāja yoga* and *kuṇḍalinī yoga*, which stress the independence of vital airs and mind, had existed there even earlier, as it is witnessed through *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*. The Vedāntic thought of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkarācārya through their *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās* and *Prasthānatrayī* respectively had also influenced Kashmir simultaneously. The result was that Kashmir Śaiva Mysticism (i.e., Trika philosophy) developed with ideas relevant to the order almost all schools of Indian philosophy. Kashmir Śaivism, in its entirety, was further elaborated in a systematic form by the great Master Abhinavaguptapāda in his *Tantrāloka*. Among his other important works, *Parātrīśikā Vivaraṇa* that explains the secret of Tantric mysticism, is the most outstanding one. Thus, Abhinavagupta gave clear dimensions of Śaivism that had developed with its different forms in Kashmir.

Consequently, there are different means suggested for attainment of supreme beatitude that every human being, celestials and manes aspire for directly or indirectly. But the

most direct and easy way to have the grace of a *guru* and the impact of his power, called *śaktipāta*. Even while the means are followed by aspirants in accordance with their individual capacities, levels of intellect or intensity in devotion, there arises need of one important thing for all and that is compassion (*kṛpā*) or favour (*anugraha*) which the Tantric Ācāryas called *śaktipāta*. To my mind it appears necessary to understand *śaktipāta* in three ways namely (i) what it is, (ii) when it happens and (iii) how it works?

What Śaktipāta is ?

Śaktipāta is difficult to define, but it is certainly more than just the absence of desire. It reflects a state of consciousness, serene and taintless and virtually constitutes the sovereign will of Lord Śiva. In English language we strictly call it 'grace' and not 'favour', because the latter is measurable against its opposite term 'disfavour.' Grace is immeasurable. It is an elegance of manner, a graciousness, which can only be a gift from God. It is not given because we desire it. God gives this gift out of intense love for the devotee whom he chooses to be blessed. Grace does not descend even upon an aspirant who is actually alert for it or even in *sanāddhi*. Sage Aṣṭāvakra said to Janaka: *ayameva he te bandhaḥ samādhim avatiṣṭhasi*—"This is what binds you, because you always sit in *sanāddhi*." Grace may descend in passive alertness which is actually 'choiceless awareness' of Divinity. '*Śaktipāta*, therefore may depend on the power of complete surrender to the Absolute—*Īśvara-praṇidhānād va*—according to the *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali. The aspirants says to himself:

What have I to do with wishing,
His will be done.
To Him surrendered
I have no wish of my own.

Pārvatī seems to have made such an utterance to herself when Śiva, in the guise of a *brahmacārī*, came to see the depth of her faith that had led her to severe penance. No sooner did the *brahmacārī* want to deviate her mind from Lord Śiva than she wanted to turn away from his presence. But how far ! She could neither go ahead nor keep back. This situation is beautifully expressed by Kālidāsa: *śailādhirājatanayā na yayau na tathau*. It was that divine ecstasy, that abrupt bloom of supreme consciousness where there is no 'coming in' or 'going out.' Pārvatī experienced perfect bliss on recognising the presence of Śiva Himself.

Śaktipāta, according to monistic mysticism, is unconditional and unhindered. *Nātra ko'pi ātmīya puruṣakāraḥ vidyate*—There is no human effort for earning *śaktipāta*. *Gale pādikayā nātha niyate sadguruṃ prati*—"One is direct to the great preceptor as if tethered with a rope." The Upaniṣad also declares:

*yamevaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas
tasaiṣa ātmā vivṛṇute tamān soām.*

Kaṭha Upaniṣad II. 23

The *Ātman* can be realised only by him whom He favours and to him He reveals Himself.

Dattātreyā's *Avadhūta Gītā* begins with the declaration: *īśvarānugrahādeva pumsām advaita vāsanā*.— "It is through the Lord's grace alone that one is led to monistic practices for self-realisation.' It is through the Lord's grace alone that one is led to monistic practices for self-realisation.' It is, therefore, by the independent will of Lord Śiva that *śaktipāta* or Divine grace may be granted to anyone at any place and even at any time. It is a transmission through *guru-śakti* through which the *śakti* in the person of the disciple is awakened and activated. "And that is natural", says M.P. Pandit. Clarifying further "For this discipline revolves upon an axis of two ends, the *guru* and the disciple. In the dynamics of this yogic *sādhana* both have their parts to play. True, the major role is played by the power of the *guru* which initiates and works the *yoga*. But the disciple too has a responsibility. He has to contain and support the *śaktipāta* in its continued workings. Ceaseless purification and reorientation of one's energies of the body, life and mind so as to collaborate with the power set in operation by the *guru* is indispensable...Personal exertion, in some form or other, is necessary to equip and perfect the *ādhiara* in which the *guru* releases his *tapas-śakti*. At any rate, it is indispensable till the nature and the being of the disciple are completely surrendered to the higher will that is active and his *sādhana* is entirely taken charge of by the *śakti*."

It is evident, therefore, that surrender (*prapatti*) and grace (*śaktipāta*) go together as is correctly expressed by Keśavamūrti of Sri Aurobindo (Ashrama: "It looks as if in the scheme of manifestation, both man and God wait for some excuse—one to receive the grace and other to bestow it, and at the end of the long journey both man and God fuse in a grand play—*Līlā*."

Thus *śaktipāta* is an indefinite point of contact between *jīva* and *īśvara*, where the former's individual age merges completely in the Supreme Reality, the monistic sovereignty that the wise call Eternal Joy and Perfect Bliss.

Divine grace is that light whose presence removes the darkness of ignorance with all its associated doubts. It changes a guessing game into a vivid and colourful experience of Supreme awakening where there is not an iota of duality—all the self everywhere—'*sarvamidaṁ ahaṁ ca brahmaiva*'; says the Śruti. Utpaladeva prayed to Lord Śiva and pinned to get firmly established in this super state:

*Anyavedyamāṇamātramasti na
so'prakāśamakhilam vijimbhate,
yatra nātha / bhavataḥ pure sthitiṁ
tatra me kuru sadā tadārcituh.*

Śivastotrāvalī XIII.9

Where not even a trace
Of otherness exists,
Where self-luminosity is everywhere manifest,
There, in your city,
Let me reside
Forever as your worshipper.

(Tr. C. Rhodes-Bailly)

The Upaniṣad also tells about the favour granted to Brahmā among *devas*, to Sanaka among *ṛṣis* and to Śukadeva among human beings, who remain not even for a moment without

the awareness of Supreme Consciousness.

*Kṣanārdham naiva tiṣṭhati vṛttim jñānamcyim vinā,
yathā tiṣṭhanti brahmādyāḥ sanakādyāḥ śukādayaḥ.*

Abhinavagupta calls this state *jagadānanda*, universal bliss, imparted to him by his guru through *śaktipāta*:

*yatra ko'pi vyavacchedo
nasti yadvaiśvataḥ sphurat.
yadanāhatasamvitti paramāmrta brmhitam,
yatrāsti bhāvanādīnām na mukhyā kūpi saṅgatī.
tadeva jagadānandam asmabhyaṁ sambhuruḥcivān.*

TA V. 50-52.

Where there is no gap of thought, no distraction,
Which is the universal gleam of consciousness,
Ever new, ever filled with increasing flow of divine nectar,
Where there is no sitting for *śamādhi* etc.
That is *jagadānanda* as explained to me by Śambhunātha.

Blessed with *śaktipāta*, the aspirant devotee witnesses no distinction between within and without, between the knower and the known. He has realised that Brahman ■ ever the same, residing in all things. In the words of Sri Aurobindo "...the highest emergence is the liberated man, who has realised the self and spirit within him, entered into the cosmic consciousness, passed into union with the eternal and so far as he still accepts life and action, acts by the light of energy of the Power within him working through his human instruments of Nature." After this state is revealed to an aspirant through *śaktipāta* of the utmost intensity—'*tīrātillora*' as classed by Abhinavagupta—nothing can shake his sense of Reality. There is no pain above this and no joy beyond this for him as is endorsed by the *Bhagavad Gītā* itself:

*yaṁ labdhvācāparam lābhaṁ
manyate nādhikaṁ tataḥ,
yasmin sthito na duḥkhena guruṁāpi vicālyate*

BG VI. 22

He wins a prize beyond all others—or so he thinks. Therein he (firmly) stands, unmoved by any suffering, however grievous it may be.

(Tr. R.C. Zaehner)

When *śaktipāta* happens and the ego gets consumed in the fire of God's wisdom, the devotee gets dissolved in the ocean of His love. That *ānanda* of Para Brahman is knowable only in experience, when there is slow dawning of *Ātambharā prajñā*—consciousness full of Truth. Then there is the revelation of Para Brahman at the lucky moment of *śaktipāta*. It operates in every line of spiritual effort when the most pious relation of Preceptor-Disciple is recognised.

Śaktipāta works in different forms at different levels of spiritual progress. Abhinavaguptapāda in his *Tantrāloka* has discussed at length the different levels of consciousness at which *śaktipāta* works in a systematic combination of its three basic forms, viz. *tīvra* (intense), *madhya* (middle) and *manda* (slow). *Śaktipāta*, being an integral part of the Indian spiritual tradition, made to happen by the preceptor who has capacity and the higher sanction to effect the *pāta* in the disciple whom he chooses or is directed to choose. Such a *guru* is capable of regulating and, if necessary, checking this course of Power already released into action. In the latter case also there is an injunction prescribed in the Tantra:

viparīta pravṛtitiṃ jñānam tasmāt samāharet

Finding opposite or negative inclination in the disciple, the *guru* should draw back the infused power of knowledge from him.

To quote a few examples of positive inclinations: (i) *Kākabhuṣaṇḍī* lived the long life of *yogi-jīvanmukta* on being established in the middle path of the two breaths, *prāṇa* and *apāna*—with perfect knowledge of self—as also evidenced in the *Netra Tantra*. His supreme consciousness had awakened through the grace of *prāṇa-kunḍalinī*. (ii) Queen Cudalā is described to have worked grace on her husband Sikkidhvaja at the mental plane. She aroused his *cit-kunḍalinī* telling him “Recognise *kunḍalinī* in your self, that is the very life of mind which is called *puryaṣṭaka*.” Such a grace is imparted like the scent of a flower, by means of touch. (iii) Hanumān, directed by king Sugriva for spying, was chosen for *śaktipāta* through *bodha-kunḍalinī*, when he met Śrī Rāma, who had been wandering in the forest of Kīṣindhā in search of Sītā. Hanumān recognized his divine preceptor in Rāma who graced him through mere sight. Both had met in their choiceless awareness. *Śaktipāta*, thus, takes place in a situation of desirelessness or *kāma-sannyāsa*, which the *Bhagavad-Gītā* calls *karma-sannyāsa* or *niṣkāma-karma-yoga*. This may be possible only when the individual ego is not able to work for its limited ends and when actions are performed with detachment but devotion and to the best of one’s ability. Then the endless chain of *karma* also ceases—*kṣyante cāsyā karmāṇi tasmīn dṛṣṭe parduare*.—When the Supreme Reality is revealed, all *karman* (*āgāmī*, *sañcita* and *prārabhita*) are put to flight.

‘God-realisation’, the wise say, ■ an over-all change in mental attitude of a *sādhaka*. It is spiritual entirely and that divine transformation comes in a moment when the grace of *śaktipāta* works through. It comes instantaneously, almost unaware. For that Brahmā-world is ever illumined. The *sādhaka* blessed with very intense (*tīvratīvra*) *śaktipāta*, has not to strive or search for it. It comes spontaneously to him like a surprise gift. Among the thousand names of *Parā Śakti* listed in the 139 Sanskrit verses in *Bhavadnīdīmasahasastuti*, there are names like ‘*nimeṣa*’, *meghamālā* and ‘*mukūrta*’ extolling the deity, who is one with *Para Śiva*. The name ‘*nimeṣa*’ connotes that *Parā Śakti* bestows grace of *śaktipāta* in a moment, like the high tension power of electricity, which is blissfully soothing and eternally sweet. *Parā Śakti* is named ‘*meghamālā*’ as She acts like a streak of lighting in the clouds. The Divine Mother’s grace may rise from anywhere or may get absorbed at any moment. Her grace accelerates the degree of awareness in an aspirant. The name ‘*mukūrta*’ stands for the equinoctial point of grace. Śiva, according to Śaiva mysticism, is the great *Guru*. His grace remains always unlocked. *Pārvatī* or *śakti* is the power of His grace, known as ‘*guroṣaṃgrāhikā śakti*’ in the Śaiva-Śākta way of

thought. Śiva impels grace through His śakti who, with Her own free will, effects śaktipāta on a sincere and earnest devotee; the when-where-and-how of which cannot be known? It is an internal process concealed in the rarely catchable moment at the equinoctial point. The devotee who is passively aware of the Supreme Self, may benefit from this flowing grace. That moment is like the moment of passing colour shades of the setting sun—'sandhyābhāralekheva muhūrtaraṅga.' In yogic parlance that moment of grace is also termed 'viśuvat' and 'abhijit', quite different from *uttara mārga* (higher path) and *dakṣiṇa mārga* (lower path), as referred to in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the *Pañcastavi*, etc. For an external illustration the two moments geographically correspond with summer equinox and winter equinox. But in the internal setting of the moment there is no taint of any thought whatsoever, as is beautifully put by Śrī Sāmba: "tābhyāmanyā viśuvatābhijit madhyamā kṛtyaśīnya." It is called *Madhya mārga*, the middle path or royal path. This middle path of graceful character ■ *kṛtyaśīnya*, without any taint of action, for there is no egress or ingress of *prāṇa* and *apāna* for the period one can remain in the state. It is the state of 'perfect ease', termed *samādhi*, the state of bliss.

*sukhamātyantikaṃ yat tad buddhigrāhyamatīndriyam,
veti yatra na caivāyaṃ sthilaścalati lattvataḥ.*

BG VI. 21

Nay, in which the soul experiences the eternal and super-sensuous joy which can be apprehended only through the subtle and purified intellect, and wherein established the said *yogī* moves not from Truth on any account.

It is then that śaktipāta may come to happen out of sovereign spontaneity.

How Śaktipāta Works?

Śaktipāta affords what is called the 'waking *samādhi*' to the devotee *yogin* to whom effortless normal state of consciousness is revealed? Utpaladeva uses the phrase '*vyūthāne* *pi samāhitah*' wherein, in his own words, there is spontaneous revelation of Supreme Reality—'*evameva śivābhāsaḥ syāt*' ! Aṣṭāvakra uses almost the same phrase to effect his grace upon Janaka. That is '*evameva sukhi bhava*.' By this it becomes clear that śaktipāta is bestowed, not obtained. Lord Śiva, in the form of Guru, gives the aspirant ammunition to fight the attraction towards petty enjoyments of the world. Otherwise, the search remains a mere intellectual exercise and the individual soul becomes an easy prey to confusion, doubt and frustration. Since the source of grace is the real Self, all beings can partake of it equally. But the veil of ego, even through unreal, blocks the light of grace as do the clouds which cover the sun and make its life-giving power ineffective. One has, therefore, to wait and watch with passive spontaneity as is said: 'Waiting for the word of the Master, watching His hissing sound.' One has only to be alert with purity of mind and sincerity of heart till śaktipāta is bestowed. Then how it works, is remarkably expressed in the *Sat Darśana Bhāṣya* of Śrī Ramana Maharshi: "The Beyond takes hold of you. You can feel yourself one, with the One that exists, the whole body becomes a mere power, a force current; your life becomes a needle drawn to a huge mass of magnet and as you go deeper you become a mere centre and not even that, for you become mere consciousness. There are no thoughts and cares any longer, they are shattered at the

threshold; it is an inundation, you are a mere straw; you are swallowed alive, but it is very delightful for you become the very thing that swallows you. This is the union of *jīva* with Brahman, the loss of ego in the real self, the destruction of ignorance, the attainment of Truth."

Śaktipāta worked on Śukadeva when king Janaka told him: "*mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kiñcana*."—"Even if the whole of Mithilā burns, nothing is burnt to me." *Śaktipāta* worked in Maitreyī when she posed a resounding question to sage Yājñyavalkya, her husband, while he was renouncing: "That which cannot give me immortality of what avail is that property to me?" It worked ■ Nāmadeva when he ran after the dog who had taken away his bread. The saint ran after the god saying, "O my Gopāla! just stop and let me apply butter to the bread so that you swallow it with ease." This is how *śaktipāta* works?

In the end I again quote Ramana Maharshi, who gave a practically useful prescription for aspirants to follow: "Retreat ever within thine own self, seek the source whence the restless mind spins out an unceasing web of thoughts, brush aside the springing thought, concentrate at the root of thought and take repose in that stillness and quietude. So much is the effort. What next is one for inner realisation and does not admit of exposition in words?"

The Nine Variations of Śaktipāta

Actually there are no classes of grace. These are, as Abhinavagupta himself says, only the variations between intensity and slow process. The nine degrees of *śaktipāta* discussed in the *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*, are in brief:

I. *Uṭṭara-tiṭṭra* or the grace of extreme intensity: This is spontaneous and sudden, infused with the great power—*mahāśaktiḥ samāviṣṭaḥ*. Jayaratha, in his commentary of *tantrāloka*, says that the person who happens to receive this degree of *śaktipāta* is fit for experiencing the wonderful Reality of Supreme consciousness. It is impressed that such a soul cannot live in a body and that he is automatically liberated at once.

II. *Madhya-tiṭṭra* or the grace of middle intensity: With this degree of grace ignorance gets dissolved because the yogin himself knows the essence of liberation and bondage through his own wisdom and not from the (external) Guru or *śāstra*:

*madhyatiṭṭrapūṇaḥ sarvamañjñānaṁ vinivartate.
so'ya meva yato vetti bandhamokṣatayātmatām,
tatprātibhaṁ mahajñānaṁ śāstrācāryānapekṣi yat.*

TA XIII. 131-32

His body remains but ignorance vanishes. He has unflinching 'devotion to Rudra-Śiva': '*rudra bhaktiḥ sūniṣcalā*.' This sign of the yogi, according to *Pūrvasāstra* is followed by *matrasiddhiḥ*—'accomplishment of the divine syllable.' The third sign is 'control over all the elements'—'*sarvataṭṭva vaśitvam*.' The fourth sign is 'indifference towards the fruit of actions of previous birth'—'*prārabdhakāryaniṣpattiḥ*' and the fifth sign is 'perfect in the knowledge and speech'—'*kavitvam sarvasāstrārthavettṛtvam*.'

III. *Manda-tiṭṭra* or the grace of slow intensity: The yogin gets eager to meet his preceptor who is perfect in every respect—'*saṁsiddhaḥ saṁskṛto'pi ca*.' He becomes instantly liberated at the time when his preceptor initiates him into the Absolute and continues to live in the body as a *jīvanmukta*—

*yasmin kāle tu guruṇā nirvikalpaṃ prakāśitam,
tadaiva kila mukto'sau yantram tiṣṭhati kevalam.'*

TA XIII. 230-31

All doubt regarding pain and pleasure of the body goes off.

IV. *Tivra-madhya* or the grace of intense middle degree: When initiation does not become firm in the aspirant because of certain persisting impressions, these haunt the mind throughout his life, and so there is absence of comprehension of the Absolute. He knowingly asserts that he is Śiva but gets release only after leaving the mortal coil. He is called *putraka sādḥaka*.

V. *Madhya-madhya* or the grace of middle degree or middle intensity: The yogin, even being earnest to profit by attaining Śivahood '*śivalābhottsuko' pi san*' enjoys yogic accomplishments in the same body and finally on its fall attains to Śiva. Such an aspirant is known as *śivadharmi*.

VI. *Manda-madhya* or the grace of slowed middle intensity: This aspirant in the category of *śivadharmi*, enjoys yogic accomplishments in the following birth. After that he attains to Śiva through the slow degree of *śaktipāta*.

VII. *Tivra-manda* or the grace of slow but intense degree: The aspirant sustains with the power of initiation. He enjoys his desired accomplishments through some lives. In the longrun he takes to the path of *sakala* or *akala* (concrete or absolute) according to his capacity and finally attains Śivahood.

Such an aspirant is called *lokadharmi*.

VIII. *Madhya-manda* or the grace of slow-but middle degree: The aspirant of this category enjoys his accomplishments through some more births and life experiences and finally gets initiation in the course of attainment of Śivahood.

IX. *Manda-manda* or the grace of slow, very slow degree: The aspirant, by and by passes through *sālekya* (seeing from near), *sāmiṇya* (being near) and *sāyujya* (becoming one with) stages of spiritual development and only after enjoying the accomplishment desires, receives initiation for proceeding towards the attainment of Śivahood. There is essentially relation between *śaktipāta* and *kundalinī*: It is the sovereign will of Lord Śiva that works through Śakti-Pārvatī, unconditioned by any human effort. It falls spontaneously on any seeker after truth in its own range of variety comprising intense (*tivra*) middle (*madhya*) and slow (*manda*) degrees. This trichotomy of *śaktipāta* apparently works through *kundalinī śakti* in various ways of its various states. It is therefore that this essential power is given the name *mahākundalinī*. The nine degrees of *śaktipāta* are described to set a standard for aspirant who have to comprehend the intricacies and subtleties within the limitation of their minds. According to different modes of the awakening of *kundalinī* the nine kinds of *śaktipāta* are classified under three heads: (i) *tivra*, comprising *tivra-tivra*, *madhya-tivra* and *manda-tivra*, falls in the region of *bodha kundalinī*, which awakens through the grace of sudden and spontaneous revelation of Supreme knowledge. (ii) *Madhya* comprising *tivra-madhya*, *madhya-madhy* and *manda-madhya*, is the range of *cit-kundalinī* or grace through *citta*, i.e. reflection, meditation, etc. (iii) *Manda* comprising *tivra-manda*, *madhya-manda* and *manda-manda*, is the work of *prāṇa-kundalinī*, the grace initiating the right practice of *prāṇa* and *apāna* or simply called *prāṇāyāma* including *japa* and other modes of *saguna* worships. Awakening of *Kundalinī*

thus takes place in the corresponding degrees of *śaktipāta*.

11

ŚĀMBHAVA YOGA

A practice in the direct realisation of the pure and divine nature of the Self is known as Śāmbhava Yoga or Śāmbhava Upāya. In this highest form of practice, the mind's tendency to thin and understand calms down. It stands still, and loses itself in the vibrant glow of pure I-consciousness. At this stage, the aspirants begin to experience their Self-bliss, and with practice, they develop a clear intuitional realisation of their divine nature. Śāmbhava Yoga is to be conducted without pressure and strain. The mind (manas) should be relaxed and rested. It is to be gently tamed rather than forced to stop its activities. The practitioner keeps a subtle form of inner awareness on the mind so that the futility of its restlessness can be fully appreciated. This subtle form of witness consciousness eventually tames the mind and the ego's wild tendencies to defend itself. All activities of imagination, contemplation, and ideation are naturally given up. Pure I-consciousness shines clearly in the resulting stillness, and the Self intuitively realises and recognises itself without any help from the mind or understanding capacity. This practice results in the direct realisation of one's Divine Essence through Śāmbhav Śamāveśa, and one's consequent liberation from all bondage. Through the regular practice of this Śamāveśa, the practitioner becomes a *jīvanmukta* and develops the above-mentioned divine powers.

An intense devotion for God and the correct understanding of one's real nature are two essential aids in this direct realisation of the Absolute Reality. As we have said, aspirants who do not have the correct theoretical knowledge of the truth may not be able to free their understanding from the mental habits of the limited individual age-old confusions created by *māyā* and because of this may not succeed in attaining final liberation (Tantrāloka, I.48-49). What is more, aspirants are liable to enter into that state of absolute dreamless sleep which is known as *apavedya-susupti*, mistake it for the final goal of life, and get stuck there for the rest of their existence (Tantrāloka, VI. 152). In spite of the functions of the binding forces of the Lord, devotion enables practitioners to overcome all obstacles that arise on the path to liberation. Devotion enables people to actually feel and relish the truth realised through the practice of this Yoga, and because of devotion they will not fall prey to any temptation to misuse the supernatural powers that often develop automatically in the practice of Śāmbhava Yoga.

The Zen Yoga of Japanese Buddhism, though resembling Śāmbhava in some respects, leads practitioners towards a state of nihilistic tranquility. This happens because the

Buddhist practitioners avoid devotion and all concepts of theism, and through practice in that system's beliefs they develop a concept of nihilism that deeply permeates their unconscious minds. In this way, Buddhist practice leads to the level of *pralayākāla*. As was said previously, this is also the case with the Transcendental Meditation school of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, which also can take a practitioner into the state of dreamless sleep. This does not happen to Śiva Yogins, because to correct theoretical knowledge allows them to aim for more refined states of enlightenment.

The highest form of śāmbhava Yoga has not been discussed in detail by Abhinavagupta because of its esoteric character. He has hinted at some aspects of this practice in the second chapter of his *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*, where he discusses the ultimate practice known as *anupāya* Yoga, a Yoga without any means. When Śāmbhava becomes perfectly ripened, it attains the position of *Anupāya*. A long verse in his *Anubhavanivedanastotra* (2) describes the essence of Śāmbhava Yoga as do the first two verses of *Anuttarāṣṭikā* (1-2).

Though not a great deal of information about this form of Yoga is available, we can find traces of it in India down through many centuries. There is a traditional posture connected to this Yoga known as Śāmbhavi-Mudrā. While it is helpful in the beginning, this Mudrā is not required after attaining proficiency in the practice. We know that the tradition of using śāmbhavi-Mudrā with this Yoga has been prevalent in India for millennia, because historians have identified this Mudra in the eyes of the bust ■ yogin found at the ancient ruins of Mohenjodaro.

This yogic form of direct realisation, aided by the mudrā, has been discussed at length in the sixth chapter of the *Bhagavaditā*. The same Yoga and mudrā have also been depicted in the poetry of Kālidāsa, in the third canto of his *Kumārasambhava* (III.44-50). Yajñvalkyā's *Smṛiti* alludes briefly to it (III. 198-201). It has also found expression in certain *vacanas* of the Virasaiva saints of Karmāṭaka. Ācārya Amṛtavāgbhava, a Śiva philosopher of the present age, has recently discussed it in his *Siddhāmahārahasya* (91, 92).

Mātrkā and *Mālinī* are the two types of śāmbhava yoga that involve the ancient Indian science of grammar. This includes a highly technical approach to the Sanskrit alphabet and the use of sound in spiritual practice. *Mātrkā* Yoga has been discussed in some detail by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasāra*, and *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*. In this type of Śāmbhava Yoga one practices an intuitive kind of visualisation in which the whole world is experienced as merely a reflection of one's own divine powers. All phenomena are imagined to be shining within oneself by virtue of one's own playful divine will. Practitioners of the *Mātrkā* form of śāmbhava Yoga visualise their own divine powers shining in the form of the sixteen vowels of the Indian alphabet, and see them reflected in the form of all the phenomenal elements from earth of Śakti, and finally shining as the consonants from "Ka" to "Kṣa". All this should happen mystically without any interference from either mental conceptions or the conventional relationships that exist between the world and their meanings.

Practitioners of *mātrka* Yoga intuitively realise that all creation has risen from within them, is reflected in them, and is totally non-different from their own true Selves (*Tantrāloka*, III. 280).

The second variety of this type of Śāmbhava Yoga is known as *Mālinī* Yoga. In this form, the same general practice is involved, except that letters are arranged haphazardly, with vowels and consonants mixed together in random order, starting from "na" and ending

in "pha." This extremely mystical practice of Śāmbhava, discussed at length in *Parātriśikāvivaraṇa*, is quicker in results and yields both Bhoga and moksa (release) simultaneously (*Parātriśikāvivaraṇa*, 149, 154).

There are still other types of Śāmbhava where practitioners, after having thoroughly sharpened the power of their attentiveness (*avadhāna*), turn this highly focussed awareness onto their blissful consciousness in order to catch hold of this psychic state and remain there. This experience of Self-bliss is actually available to anyone in many different situations. For example, every person's pure I-consciousness shines clearly through its own brilliance for a moment in situations where there is some powerful emotion like anger, joy, astonishment, etc. (*Spandakārikā*, 22), or where there is some delightful experience or perception (*Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, I-9, 11), or in - between two mental ideas (*Spandakārikā*, 38), or between the waking and dreaming states. Supervigilant practitioners, possessing a very sharp attentiveness, realise the inner nature of pure Consciousness at such junctures. Then, catching hold of it with their one-pointed awareness, they try to remain firmly established for some time in that state of Self-revelation. With time and practice, these experience become impressed ever more deeply on the subconscious mind. Finally, this experience of the Self becomes the essential nature of the practitioners.

These various types of Śāmbhava Yoga which were taught in philosophical works like the *Spandakārikā*, have been discussed by Abhinavagupta in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī* where he quotes many couplets from the *Kārikā* of Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa. There seems to have been an understanding and agreement among the sage philosophers in this tradition about the policy to be used in writing about these most esoteric practices. While they were not keep absolutely secret, neither were they ever fully or clearly described in a single text. Abhinavagupta received these instruction from his greatest preceptor, Śāmbhunātha. As he says in his *Tantrasāra*:

Our revered preceptor has said that a doctrine that is extremely secret in nature, should neither be clarified in a single context, nor should it be kept totally secret (*Tantrasāra*, 31).

In summary, no element of mental contemplation or ideation should enter into the practice of any type of Śāmbhava Yoga. Because it is conducted only through one's will power, without indulging in any form of knowing or doing, it is called *icchā yoga*, the Yoga of simply willing. Complete perfection and regular practice in śāmbhava Yoga yields the results and reveals the secrets of all the lower types of Trika Yoga.

12

Śāmbhavopāya

The *Trika* system of the practical Yoga of Kashmir Śaivism teaches such a Tantric path of practice which leads directly to the realisation of the innermost aspect of the Self and yields, at the same time, liberation from age old bondages of ignorance, while an aspirant is yet living in a physical form. Yoga, known as *śāmbhavopāya*, or the Divine means, is the highest method of *Trika-yoga*. The stage of Yoga known as *anupāya* is nothing but the position of the highest perfection in the practice of *śāmbhava* and not at all any other practice. As the name says, it is a “means without any means” or a “pathless path”. The essential character of *śāmbhava* is sufficiently different from that of the two other methods of *Trika-yoga*, known as *āṇavopā* (the individual means) and *śāktopāya* (the means of Energy).

The characteristic features of the *upāyas* or means of realisation have been described in the *Mālinīvijaya Tantra*. The following verses describe the individual means (*āṇava*) and the means of Energy (*śākta*):

*uccāra karaṇa-dhyāna-varṇa-sihānaprakalpanaiḥ,
yo bhavet sa samāveśaḥ samyag āṇava ucyate.*

MVT II. 21

The full *samāveśa* (absorption in the divine) occurs by means of *uccāra* (upgoing dynamic vital energy), *karaṇa* (postures of the body indicative of certain inward states), *dhyāna* (meditation), *varṇa* (letters of alphabets permeated by the primal sound known as *nāda*), *sihāna kalpa* (concentration on stations of the vital energy, on different parts of the body and spots outside the body) is known as *āṇava*.

The same text defines *śāktopāya* in the following way:

*uccārahitaṃ vastu cetasaiva vicintayan,
yaṃ samāveśamāpnoti śāktaḥ so'brābhidhiyate.*

MVT II. 22

When an aspirant with one-pointedness of the mind apprehends that Reality which is not within the range of utterance (gross or subtle), he obtains absorption (in divine consciousness), then that *samāveśa* is known as *śākta*. (Tr. J. Singh)

All the varieties of *āṇavopāya* involve some regular practices in mental contemplation on the nature of different categories of objective phenomena of mental and material character. *Śāktopāya* is the name given to practice in subjective contemplation on one's own person and its real character, as discussed in the philosophy of Śaiva monism. A *yogin* has to contemplate regularly in his infinite, perfect and divinely potent pure I-consciousness, which is not to be confused with the limited ego. Such practice yields an intellectual realisation of the true nature and character of the real Self, as taught in Kashmir Śaivism. Such realisation of the Self is termed as *boudha-jīḥva*. Regular practice in such *jīḥva* leads automatically to the position of *sāmbhava* when it becomes perfect.

The *sāmbhava upāya* has been described thus:

*akimccintakasyaiva gururā pratibodhataḥ,
jāyate yah samāveśaḥ sāmbhavo śaoudhritah.*

MVT II.23

Absorption of the individual consciousness in the Divine results from an awakening imparted by the spiritual teacher who has freed his mind from all ideation, is called *sāmbhava*. (Tr. J. Singh)

The absorption that occurs by following the course either of *śākta* or *āṇava*, that course indeed leads to *sāmbhava*, for it is stated in the *Tantrāloka* that,

*dvāvapyetau samāveśau nirvikalpārnavam prati,
prayāta eva tad rūḍhiṃ vinā naiva hi kiṃcana.*

TA I.226

Both these absorptions (*āṇava* and *śākta*) proceed toward the sea of undifferentiated knowledge. Without being absorbed (in the undifferentiated sea of consciousness) nothing indeed exists.

They both get their rest in the absorption of *sāmbhava* which is characterised by the Supreme Light of the Divine.

The characteristic feature of the means known as *sāmbhava* is non-dual, while *śākta* is dual-non-dual and *āṇava* is dual (cp. TA I. 230).

Some present-day teachers and thinkers may raise an objection by saying that such contemplative practice and its results come into the field of self-hypnotism. But in fact all of us are already moving within the deep rooted hypnotism worked out on us by

māyā, the deluding power of the absolute reality, and are therefore taking wrongly the mental and physical forms as our real Self. *Śāktopāya* should therefore be taken as such a process of dehypnotisation which relieves a *yogin* from the hypnotical finitude of his person and limitations in his powers to know and to do in accordance with his will, imposed in him by *māyā*, the most powerful hypnotising force working in the whole universe.

Śāmbhavopāya transcends all practices in mental contemplation. It is regular practice in direct realisation of the true nature and character of one's real Self and by the self, not aided by any mental apparatus. *Ānava* and *śākta* involve a sufficient amount of mental imagination, but *śāmbhava* transcends the mind and all mental activities. Mental ideation is the essential character of both *ānava* and *śākta* types of Yoga, while *śāmbhava* is perfectly free from all ideation. It is therefore known as *nirvikalpa-upāya*. Ideation and contemplation involve two psychic activities, namely, mental effort in forming ideas and the psychic manifestation of such ideas. The element of mental exertion plays a predominant part in *ānava*, while manifestation becomes dominant in *śākta*. Exertion is action and manifestation is knowledge, as it is a psychic illumination. Therefore, these two types of *Trika-yoga* are known respectively as *kriyā-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga*. A *śāmbhava yogin* pushes both such mental activities to the background and, with just the use of the power of the Energy of will (*icchā-śakti*), he enters into such a transcendental state in which the Self, consisting of self-aware pure consciousness, freed from the whole mental apparatus, shines by itself and keeps aware of itself as the infinite 'I', vibrating to and from through its own divine essence. A regular practice in such Yoga results in a state termed as *śiva-samāveśa*. It is such a state in which the finite I-consciousness becomes merged into the infinite, omniscient and omnipotent I-consciousness and the practitioner feels actually that he is not separate from Almighty God himself. A regular practice in such *samāveśa* results in the development of many divine capacities and such a *yogin* can exercise his divine grace on a being and such being gets liberation from his ignorance and all the resultant miseries. *Śāmbhavopāya*, being conducted through the exercise of such power of will, is known as *icchā-yoga*.

*evam parecchāśaktyamśasadupāyanimam viduḥ,
śāmbhavākhyam samāveśam sumatyantenivāsinah.*

TA I.213

This true means is known by the disciples of revered Sumati and others is a portion of the supreme Energy of Will and it is called the *śāmbhava* absorption (*samāveśa*).

Śāmbhava-yoga is of several varieties. The main element in all its varieties is the intuitive revelation of the real character of the Self. The Self realises itself through the brilliant para-psychological lustre of its pure consciousness, without the least use of the whole mental apparatus. Two of the main varieties of *śāmbhava* have been discussed in detail by Abhinavagupta, respectively in his *Tantrāloka* and his *Vivaraṇa* commentary on

Parātrīśikā. Such varieties of *śāmbhava* are termed as *mūlīkā* and *mālinī*. Both such practices in *śāmbhava-yoga* are highly mystical in character and can be grasped correctly only through practice in *Trika yoga* and not through mere studies and discussions. Yet these have been described in such works of eminently high standard ever written on the advanced stages in mystic Yoga.

The whole phenomenon is, in the philosophical view of Kashmir's monistic Śaivism, a manifestation of the outward reflections of the divine powers of Almighty God. He, while appearing in the form of the phenomenal existence, does not undergo any change or transformation, as maintained by Vaiṣṇavas in India and pantheists in the West. God is always the pure and absolute consciousness and does not undergo any change in his nature. He possesses wonderful divine powers. Being infinitely blissful in his nature, he is ever playful. On account of his divine playfulness, he plays the infinite game of cosmic creation, dissolution etc. This is being done by him through outwardly reflecting his divine powers. All the phenomenal elements, called *tattvas*, are thus just the reflections of different divine powers of God. That is the truth about the phenomena, as maintained in Kashmir Śaivism. A Śiva-yogin has to transcend the whole physical and mental existence by uniting with the Divine will. He has to find out actually, through the power of his intuition, that he ■ none other than Almighty God. The whole phenomenal existence, consisting of all the created *tattvas*, ■ to be seen as shining within the lustre of his own consciousness as a multitude of the reflections of his own divine powers. The following verses of *Tantrāloka* of Śrī Abhinavagupta explain briefly *śāmbhava saindveśa*.

*saṃvidāṁmani viśvo 'yaṃ bhūtatargah prapañcavān, pratibimbatayā bhāti yasya viśveśvaro
hi sah.*

TA III. 268

He indeed is the Lord of the universe in whose consciousness this entire multitude of beings appears in infinite ways like reflections in a mirror.

The text further adds:

*evamātmāni yasyedrgavikalpah sadodayah,
parāmarśah sa evāsau śāmbhavopāya mudritāh.*

TA III. 269

Those who are 'marked' by the Divine way partake of a reflective awareness which arises once without setting in a non-differentiated consciousness (*avikalpa*) of the Self.

Abhinavagupta discusses *śāmbhava upāya* in his *Tantrāloka* (3rd āhnika) in the following way. The Divine Lord being transcendent (*upādhyatīta*) is beyond the reach of accidental attributes (*upādhis*), yet He shines in His innate glory where no *upādhi* has yet become manifest, and the other is going to merge in the sea of tranquillity (*praśamayogatah*).

This *praśama* occurs in two distinct ways according to the comparative competence of the yogin. This competence is nothing but the keenness of the fall of grace (*śaktipāta*) by which the aspirant is touched. For the one who has been blessed by the graceful Lord, that is, by an intense impact of Śakti obtains immediate liberation. It is stated in the *Tantrāloka* (III. 259 ff.) that the former teachers used to stress the point that the transcendent nature of the Divine on the one hand is beyond *upādhi*, that is, accidental attribute, but on the other even the aspirant who has received grace of the Lord in a lesser degree realises the Lord. The shines as if nothing has emerged yet (*prāgabhāva-rūpa*).

The second is that negation which has been made existent by means of destruction or withdrawal. To clarify the above viewpoints it is stated that the autonomous Lord by His free will before manifesting the universe, when he becomes intent on creation and when all the attributes are as if about to flourish (*anullāsāt*) actually they have not yet flourished. This is known to be a state of *prāgabhāva*. Therefore, the Lord's graceful nature is realised by the competent aspirant in two different ways. The one is by means of *śānti*, the way of tranquillity. His tasting of the sweetness of the Lord is preceded by the procedure of paying obeisance to the revered teacher and following the course of convention (*samaya*) and so on. This is termed as *madhurapāka*, 'cooking with sweetness', while the other is known as *haṭhapāka*, "cooked instantaneously." The aspirant realises the Self as Consciousness shining like a blazing fire into which everything has already been consumed by the fire of Consciousness. The aspirant feels within that there is nothing more to be relished. He feels fully satisfied. Only the non-ending light remains ever blaze without any break (cp. TĀ III. 261).

*sarvo mamāyaṃ vibhava ityevaṃ parijānataḥ,
viśvātmāno vikalpānāṃ prasare'pi mahēśatā.*

ĪPK Tattvasaṃgrahādhikāra IV. 1.12

He who knows that all this glory of manifestation is mine (i.e. belongs to the Spirit), who realises that the entire cosmos is the Self, possesses Lordship even when the *vikalpas* (thought-constructs) have their play.

The method of a still superior variety of *śāmbhāvopāya* is, at the outset, quite simple in its character and can be easily understood and practised. Such variety of *śāmbhava* is assisted, at the initial stage of practice, by *śāmbhavi mudrā*, a special type of psychophysical posture. A yogin has just to sit firm in *padmāsana* posture and has to keep his body quite erect. His eyes are to be kept half open, with his sight falling loosely towards the tip of his nose. His hands are to be kept, right over the left, in his lap, with palms turned upwards. He should then stop slowly and steadily all his mental activities, without using any force. It happens by regular practice. Constant chains of successive ideation are to be brought to a stop. The mental apparatus is to be made so inactive and motionless that even the sound or movement of breathing is not noticed by the yogin. His mind has to give up its tendency towards moving outwards to catch hold of objects of thinking. It has to

turn inwards and to come face to face with the inner I-consciousness (not the ego), shining through its natural divine lustre. At such juncture it shall be automatically lost in such highly brilliant lustre.

The self of the *yogin* shall then see its own self through its own lustre and shall become directly aware of itself and its divine character. The *yogin* concerned shall actually realise that he is none other than pure and infinite Consciousness endowed with all divine powers of Godhead. That is *pratyabhijñā*, the recognition of the real aspect of the Self. That is the simplest means of the direct self-realisation and the highest type of *sāmbhāvopāya* as explained to the writer of this paper by his preceptor, Ācārya Amṛtavāgbhava who had learnt ■ through the gracious kindness of sage Durvāsas.

Some ancient traces of the practice of such yoga can be found in the remains of Indus Valley Civilization. Its most ancient written description is found in detail in the sixth chapter of *Bhavadad-Gītā*.

Kālidāsa describes both the physical and mental aspects of such *mudrā* in a charming poetic style in his *Kumārasambhava* (KS III. 45-50). It is the spontaneous posture of Umā in the moment of recognising Śiva:

*lanī vīkṣya vepathumatī sarasāṅgayaṣṭir
nikṣepaṇḍya padamuddhṛtamudrahanti,
mārgācalavyatīkarakulīteva sindhuḥ.
śailādhirājatanayā na yayau na lasthau.*

KS V.85

On seeing, him the daughter of the Mountain-lord, all a trembling and her body covered with perspiration, and having one foot raised to walk away, was uncertain whether to go or to stay, like a river hampered by the impediment of a mountain in the path. (Tr. M.R. Kale)

The mention of *sāmbhava* is found in *Avadhūta-Gītā*. Its elusive description is found in some sayings (*Vacanas*) of some Virāṣaiva saints, and in poems of the Hindi poet-mystic, Kabīradāsa. This type of *sāmbhava-yoga* has been described briefly but clearly by Ācārya Amṛtavāgbhava in his *Siddhāmālā-rahasya* (VI.21-23). In spite of all such clear descriptions of this superior type of *sāmbhava-yoga*, some aspects of its practice remain still unexplained and can be learnt only through the help of a master who has attained considerable success in its practice.

Practice in *sāmbhava-yoga* is frequently liable to two main types of lapses. Firstly, the practitioner may very easily enter into some delightful step in dreamless sleep, and finding it sufficiently sweet, may stick to it and may not at all aspire to reach the state of *turya*, that is, the state of intuitive revelation of the true character of the Self. Such sleeping state may provide with perfect rest, relaxation and tranquillity, but cannot lead to a true realisation of the Self. It can, at the most, eradicate mental tension and remove physical fatigue and can charge energy of work.

Another probable lapse is the fact that a *yogin*, having still some desires and

passions in his mind, may fall prey to misuse of some uncommon powers that do develop during the practice of *śāmbhava-yoga*. For instance, a *yogin* may develop telepathy or may attain capacity to know the past and future of people around him. Such a practitioner may, very often, become tempted to use his Yogic capacities to earn respect, influence, name, fame, material prosperity, etc. Such misuse of Yogic powers checks the spiritual progress of the *yogin* concerned and his unusual psychic capacities do also vanish after sometime. Such things happen frequently to *yogins*. Their present life becomes useless and they have to mark time for the whole remaining portion of their life. Some of them repent very much on such account and some become mad on account of such intense repentance. Such half-mad monks can be found in India at many places. But a few among practitioners are very clever in such matters. They indulge in the misuse of Yogic powers only to such an extent that does not deprive them of the whole mastery over such powers and continue to have influence on unwise common people. Some of such *yogins* do also exist at present in India, though they may be very few in number.

Śāmbhava-yoga of all the three paths mentioned above does actually develop supernatural psychic capacities in a *yogin*. But a *śāmbhava yogin*, having been initiated by a highly powerful preceptor, is saved of such lapses, through his gracious activity. Some powerful *mantra* (a mystic verbal formula), if practised regularly and correctly, can also save its practitioner from such lapses. The other and the most effective defence against such lapses is the intense devotion towards Lord Śiva. Such a devotee does neither stick to the sweet tranquillity of *susupti*, nor indulges in any misuse of Yogic powers. He also develops super-human psychic capacities which help him in becoming perfectly sure about the authenticity of his Yogic realisation of being truly identical with Almighty God. Some signs of partial success do also appear occasionally in him while he is in the process of regular practice in such Yoga, conducted with the help of *śāmbhavi mudrā*. Sometimes his physical form becomes lighter in weight than the atmosphere in his room and, as a result of such occasional development, his body starts an upward movement towards the ceiling of the room, with no change in the sitting posture of his form. At other times a sweet radiance, like that of the crescent moon, emanates out of his forehead.

Sometimes a highly wonderful happening occurs when the subtle body of a *yogin* comes out of his gross body, leaving it lifeless for a while and re-entering it after moving about in the room. Deities, residing at various sacred places appear before such practical *yogin* when he roams about at such places. Most of such super-human experiences do occur just to divert of *yogin* from the path of self-realisation. But sometimes some super-human beings appear before him just to help him in his upward spiritual ascent. All such things are controlled by the binding and liberating forces of Lord Śiva. The divine activities of the Lord are of multifarious character and consequently his play in spiritual ascent and descent does also appear in multifarious ways, that makes his divine cosmic play highly wonderful and interesting. It is the wonderful variety of the characters of a drama that makes it enjoyable to the public. How would Lord Śiva, the sole master of the universal drama, ignore this infinite play with respect to such individual variety?

Several other types of practice in *śāmbhavapāya* have been taught in some ancient

important texts, but have not been elucidated by any authors of works on Śaivism. The key technique expressed in them is the same practice of remaining vigilant towards the pure brilliant and self-aware consciousness of the Self and not moving towards any ideation of any kind.

13

The Sāṃkhya Tattvas in Śaivism

The Sāṃkhya philosophy is the oldest school of Indian thought to have developed a comprehensive analysis of all phenomena into different Tattvas or elements. In this chapter we will briefly review the traditional twenty-five tattvas of the Sāṃkhya system, and then go on to discuss the additional eleven Tattvas worked out by the Śaiva philosophy.

Traditionally the Tattvas have been described either from their source "down" to the grossest level of phenomenon, or, in the reverse order, from the most material "up" to the most refined level of the source. We will follow the Sāṃkhya system in the latter order. This philosophy divides gross phenomena into five elements known as the five *bhūtas* earth, water, fire, air and ether. These five *bhūtas* evolve out of the next subtler level known as the five *tanmatras* odor, flavour, light-colour, touch, and sound. As is obvious, these subtle elements are the basic objects of the five exterior senses. Collectively, these make up the first ten Tattvas known as the "objective elements". The next thirteen Tattvas are known in the philosophy as the "instrumental elements". The Sāṃkhya analyse these into exterior and interior groupings. The exterior instrumental elements are the five organs of action and the five exterior senses, i.e.: reproduction, elimination, locomotion, handling, and expression; and smell, taste, sight, touch and hearing. These are the capacities of our bodily motor-nervous system known as the five organs of action (*karmendriyas*), and the five organs of perception (*jñānendriyas*) respectively. The three interior instrumental elements are known as the three *Antahkaraṇas* mind (*manas*), ego (*ahaṃkāra*), and understanding (*buddhi*). Up to this point we have ten "objective elements" and "thirteen instrumental" elements, or $5+5+5+5+3=23$ Tattvas.

The twenty-fourth *tattva* is *mūlaprakṛti*. It is the source and basic element out of which all these twenty-three *tattvas* grow through a process of outward transformation, and into which they are absorbed once again through the process of inward transformation. All twenty-four tattvas are absolutely insentient in character. Sentience is the basic nature of consciousness, which appears in the twenty-fifth and last *tattva*, known as *puruṣa*. This completes the organisation of universal phenomena that was developed by the Sāṃkhya school.

Śaivism accepts this analysis as far as it goes, and then proceeds beyond *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* to elucidate eleven more *tattvas*, raising their total number to thirty-six. The "lower" six of these eleven *tattvas* are considered integral characteristics of *puruṣa*, while the most refined, last five elements are pure *tattvas* transcending *māyā*, the root of all limitations. Beyond all thirty-six *tattvas* is the basic eternal Reality out of which they all emerge and into which the whole phenomenal universe becomes absorbed at the time of complete dissolution. That is the transcendental absolute Reality which serves as the non-dual substratum of all phenomena and is called *Paramaśiva* in śaivite philosophy. It is the equivalent of the Parabrahman found in the Upaniṣads.

Regardless of the name applied to this absolute source of everything, it is important to remember that this philosophy insists on a complete and pure non-dualism. Everything is one thing, and that one thing is described again and again in the texts as being Consciousness. It is pure, eternal, infinite, and totally free I-consciousness whose essential nature is vibrant creative energy, which we refer to here as the divine essence. The essential character of his infinite Consciousness is described by the principal philosophers of Kashmir Śaivism as a wonderful spiritual stir of blissfulness known as *spanda*. The blissful stir of *spanda* causes Absolute Reality to be continuously inclined towards the outward and joyful manifestation to its divine creative energy. This manifestation, which is brought about through the free will *Paramaśiva* Himself, results in the appearance of all universal phenomena.

Outward manifestations of the divine creative energy appear in five stages: (1) the creation, (2) the preservation, and (3) the dissolution of the thirty-six *tattvas* and all the beings living in them, plus the activities of (4) Self-oblivion and (5) Self-recognition of these created beings.

Starting from the source of vibrant Consciousness, the first two *Tattvas* of Śaivism are (1) *Śiva Tattva* and (2) *Śakti Tattva*. It is important to understand at the beginning that these two *tattvas* are only linguistic conventions and are not actually part of creation. According to the deep Yogic experience of the sages of this philosophy, there is no difference between *Śiva Tattva* and *Śakti tattva*. They are both actually one with *Paramaśiva*. They are considered to be two *tattvas* only for the convenience of philosophical thinking and as way of clarifying the two aspects of the one absolute reality, *Paramaśiva*. These two aspects are *Śiva*, the transcendental unity, and *Śakti*, the universal diversity. The changeless, absolute and pure consciousness is *Śiva*, while the natural tendency of *Śiva* towards the outward manifestation of the five divine activities is *Śakti*. So, even though *Śiva* is *Śakti*, and *Śakti* is *Śiva*, and even though both are merely aspects of the same reality called *Paramaśiva*, still, these concepts of *Śivahood* and *Śaktihood* are counted as the first two *tattvas*. These two *tattvas* are at the plane of absolute purity and perfect unity.

Below this level here appear four more *tattvas* of divine creation brought about by *Paramaśiva* Himself. Of this group, the three *tattvas* known as (3) *Sadāśiva tattva*, (4) *Īśvara tattva*, and (5) *Suddhavidyā Tattva* are considered pure, while the last divinely created *tattva*, (6) *māyā* is impure.

As we examine these tattvas it is important to remember that all phenomena have an eternal existence in Paramaśiva. All phenomena exist within Paramaśiva in the form of pure Consciousness alone. This Consciousness is also referred to as the Absolute, completely free and divinely potent. All phenomena lie within the Absolute in the form of its potency just as a plant lies in a seed in the form of the potency of the seed. It is the playful activity of absolute Consciousness that causes the outward manifestation of phenomena in differentiated form.

While the Absolute is limitless I-consciousness, the playful activity of Its divine essence manifests phenomena in the form of thisness, or objectivity. The objective manifestation of these phenomena is known as their creation. At the very first step of their creation, these phenomena appear as a single and undiversified thisness. At this first stage, infinite consciousness develops and holds a unified awareness of, "I am this." Even though this initial awareness includes both I-ness and thisness, I-ness shines predominantly in it, and only the faintest tinge of thisness is manifested. All created beings dwelling at this plane experience, "I am this." These beings are known as *mantra-Maheśvaras*, while the presiding deity of this *tattva* is called Sadāśiva Bhaṭṭāraka. He is actually Paramaśiva who has descended to this level as the master of creation. This plane of existence, with Lord Sadāśiva as the master deity, *mantra-Maheśva* as his devotees, and "I am this" as their unified awareness, is called Sadāśiva Tattva, the third Tattva in the chain of thirty-six, and the first one in the process of creation.

At the next step of creation the balance of I-ness and this-ness shifts. The awareness of I-ness is not lost, but thisness begins to dominate. Awareness now shines as, "This is myself." This plane of existence is known as Īśvara Tattva, the fourth in the series. Created beings at this level are known as *Mantraśvaras*, and the deity presiding over them is called Īśvara Bhaṭṭāraka.

The vision or understanding of beings in these two Tattvas has been described as "unity in diversity" and "diversity in unity." When the vision becomes balanced so that there is equal emphasis on I-ness and thisness, the *Śuddhavidyā* tattva comes into being. This is the fifth Tattva, which is sometimes known as *sadvidyā* as well. There are really two levels to this Tattva, the initial level just described, where there is a powerful balance between "I" (aham) and "this" (idam), and the more evolved level where the further outward manifestation of *śuddhavidyā* results in an awareness of clear diversity. This second stage happens without any loss of its purity and divinity. Beings created by the Absolute at this stage of creation develop an awareness as "I am I" and "this is this." They see the objective element of thisness as separate from the subjective element of I-ness, but simultaneously retain their awareness of the purity, infiniteness, and divine potency of their I-consciousness. Because of this, they are included in the category of pure beings.

This stage of clear diversity in *śuddhavidyā* is known as *mahāmāyā*. Beings living at this level are called *mantras* or *vidyeśvaras*, and the deity presiding over them is known as Anantanātha. He is in fact Īśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, who has descended to this level as the divine administrator of further creation. It should be made clear that *mahāmāyā* is not a separate tattva but represents a lower level which is included in the *Śuddhavidyā*

tattva. Creation up to and including *mahāmāyā* is recognised as pure because the beings who reside at all these levels do not forget the purity and infiniteness of their I-consciousness, nor do they lose their divine potency. So these first-five *tattvas* are all considered pure and are all created by Paramaśiva Himself, without His delegating authority to any created authority to any created deity.

There is one final *tattva* created by the Lord Himself which is considered to be "impure," that is, filled with limitation. This level is called *māyā*. As the creative energy of Paramaśiva evolves outward into the realm of *māyā*, it has two main effects. First, it hides the pure and divine nature of created beings residing in its plane and consequently they forget the purity and infiniteness of their I-consciousness as well as their divine infinite potency. Here they are given the name *anu* (lit. "atomic") i.e., finite beings. And second, they see every other entity as absolutely different from their finite I-consciousness. All other phenomena are imagined to be mutually different as well. *Māyā* is thus the plane of absolute Self-oblivion and diversity, and is the abode of finite beings. Under the influence of *māyā* people lose their state of oneness with divine potency, becoming permeated instead with feelings of imperfection and emptiness which they attempt to fill up with outer objects. In this way they develop passions and desires for objective enjoyments.

The deity who presides over *māyā* is the same Lord Anantanātha, the master of *mahāmāyā*. He "shakes up" *māyā*, causing it to expand into the next five *tattvas*. These are known collectively as the five *kañcukas*, or "cloaks," that cover the real nature of the knowing subject. They are also sometimes referred to as the elements from *kalā* to *kāla*. *Māyā* is itself the greatest of these *tattvas* of limitation and is sometimes counted as one of the *kañcukas*, bringing the total number of six.

Along with *māyā*, these five *kañcukas* penetrate into I-consciousness, limiting people and their capacities in the following ways. As was said above, *māyā* causes us to become filled with desires for events and things to compensate for our imagined insufficiency. To enable us to fulfill these desires, *māyā* allows just a little power of action to achieve a limited amount. This limited capacity to do just a little is called *kalā*. This is the seventh *tattva*. Since doing is not possible without knowing, *māyā* also gives us just a limited capacity to know a certain amount. The finite capacity in *māyā* to know just a little is the eighth *tattva*, called *vidyā* or *śuddhavidyā* as well. In order to further limit the scope of our doing and knowing, *māyā* appears in us as *rāga*, or limited interest. *Rāga* *tattva* is the ninth level. Because of this limited interest, we are not inclined to pursue the full scope of our innate capabilities or to reach our highest potential. We end up knowing and doing a limited amount and placing a high value on these partial accomplishments. *Rāga* also limits the scope of our *kalā* and *vidyā*, the capacities to do and to know, causing us to limit our doing and knowing to only those objects in which we feel some interest. This *rāga* is different from attachment, which is an attribute of the intellect (*buddhi*) and is included in Sāṃkhya among its eight *dharma*s. *Rāga* *tattva* is narrowing the scope of our attention and activity to a few particular events and thereby excluding a great deal of our potential knowledge.

An absolute limitation in the scope of *kalā*, *vidyā* and *rāga* is caused by *niyati* the tenth level. Niyati is the law of nature which establishes the order of succession in the appearance of all phenomena, i.e., the way in which a seed develops into a tree. Here the law of nature appears as the law of restriction and causation. Whereas, absolute Consciousness is always present everywhere and is always interrelated to everything under the influence of *niyati* there arises the experience of restricted scope and relationship. Here things are seen as having causes and as being sequential. These four tattvas only limit our field of knowing and doing, but the fifth *kañcuka* limits our very being as well. This element is the eleventh *tattva*, known as *kāla*, the sense of time. Our real Self is in fact infinite and in no way conditioned by the concept of time sequence. It is *akāla*, beyond time sequence. But because of this particular limitation imposed on us by *māyā*, we feel that "we were, we are, and we shall be." Thus we impose on ourselves the condition of time sequence, and this conditioning is so thorough that we can't think of doing or knowing anything without this essence of time intervening.

Yet what is time? In fact, it is not something that exists independently of a knowing person. Time is simply an imagined concept. A person forms a unified conception of the different events in his environment and of his different actions, and these get woven chronologically into a sense of imagined sequence. But this sequence is merely a non-substantial concept based on our imagination. These concepts are the sense of time imposed by finite beings on themselves and on their whole environment as well. What results are feelings of "I was, I am, I shall be: That was, This is, That shall be," and so on. While the actions of finite beings are not necessarily conducted in any definite order, certain events in the environment always occur in definite succession. For instance, sunrise, sunset, phases of the moon, the seasons, the blossoming of different flowers, the ripening of fruits and harvest all happen in regular order. Because of *kāla*, people measure events that have no order with events like these that are marked by a definite order of succession, and this imagined sense of time comes to be imposed on everything. (Īśvarapratyabhijñānakārikā, II-1.3).

I-consciousness, having been reduced to utter finitude, becomes the twelfth *tattva*, known as *Puruṣa*. It is also known as *puruṣatattva*, *jīva*, *paśu*, *aṇu*, etc. All these terms refer to completely limited I-consciousness. The object or "thisness" of I-consciousness becomes the thirteenth level known as *prakṛti*. It is also known as *mūlaprakṛti*, the basic substance, and *Pradhāna Tattva*, the principal substance. *Prakṛti* is the undiversified source of all the remaining twenty-three instrumental and objective *tattvas* worked out by the Sāṃkhya philosophy. According to Kashmir Śaivism, *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* are actually further creations of Lord Anantanātha. Īśvara Bhaṭṭāraka descends to *Prakṛti Tattva* and appears there as Śrīkaṇṭhanātha, who shakes the equilibrium of *prakṛti* and transforms it into the final twenty-three *tattvas*.

Kashmir Śaivism has accepted Sāṃkhya's concept of *prakṛti* as the combination of three *guṇas* (attributes) in their absolute equilibrium. But what are *guṇas* and from where do they emerge? According to Sāṃkhya philosophy, the three *guṇas* are *sattva*, *rajas*, and *taṃas*. *Sattva* is enlightenment and pleasure, *rajas* is turbulence and pain, the

tamas is ignorance and lethargy. Further, *sattva* is light, *tamas* is heavy, and *rajas* is mobile. In this way the Sāṃkhyas have explained the nature of three *guṇas*, but they have not explained their source and why these particular natures arise. All other schools of thought also lack answers to these questions.

The philosopher-sages of Kashmir Śaivism have examined both of these issues and explained them in the following way. Infinite I-consciousness possesses limitless powers to know, to do, and to diversify. These infinite powers are known as *jñāna*, *kriyā*, and *māyā* respectively. I-consciousness is a monistic reality; there is no difference between these powers and the entity that possesses them. However, as infinite I-consciousness evolves and appears in finite forms, it loses the nature of unity. As *jñāna*, *kriyā* and *māyā* diversify into the limitations of a finite being, they can no longer be considered the infinite powers of I-consciousness. At the plane of diversity these powers become simple attributes, or *guṇas*. *Jñāna* becomes *sattva*, *kriyā* becomes *rajas*, and *māyā* becomes *tamas*. In this way the śaivism of Kashmir has explained the source of the three *guṇas*. (Īśvarapratyabhijñānakārikā, IV.66).

The philosophy explains the nature of the three *guṇas* as they relate to the basic nature of the Absolute. Infinite I-consciousness is, all-powerful and all-blissful awareness. The finite I-consciousness of a person also experiences blissfulness during moments of happiness and clarity. These experiences of pleasure and illumination are a person's *sattva*. During deep sleep, or while dazed or intoxicated, the blissfulness of a person's existence does not shine clearly in his awareness. The resulting loss of clarity, and the ignorance and lethargy that arise, create a kind of darkness, which is *tamas*. This is an absolute lack of the awareness. This mixture of *sattva* and *tamas* causes turbulence, and consequently pain, known as *rajas*. To give an example of how *rajas* can arise, imagine a parent, after many years of separation, having a reunion with a beloved child who is lying ill in a hospital. The awareness of the presence of the beloved child is a blissful one, while the awareness of the child's illness is the non-existence of blissfulness. The resulting stir of emotions is the pain and turbulence of *rajas*.

According to Kashmir Śaivism, the three attributes (*guṇas*) are thus basically the particulars of the viewpoint of Puruṣa. He views the objective element, all "thisness," through the lens of these three attributes, and experiences them as pleasure, pain, and ignorance while remaining in a state of equilibrium. No other school of Indian thought considers the *guṇas* to be such particulars of the viewpoint of Puruṣa *tattva*. All of these schools accept the *guṇas* as attributes of *prakṛti* alone. The three *guṇas* have been discussed in this way by Utpaladeva in his Īśvarapratyabhijñā (IV.1.4-6), and have also been explained in detail by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on that work. This is another example of how the philosopher-sages of Kashmir Śaivism have clarified and deepened various concepts of Indian philosophy.

It is important to understand that, according to Kashmir Śaivism, this analysis of all phenomena into thirty-six *tattvas* is not an absolute truth. It has been worked out by the authors of the philosophy as a tool of understanding for the ever-active and inquiring mind and as a form for contemplative meditation. Through further analysis, the number

of *tattvas* can be increased to any level. Similarly, through syntheses, they can be decreased down to one *tattva* alone. In fact this has been done in the *Tantrāloka*, where one can find doctrines of contemplation on fifteen, thirteen, eleven, nine, seven, five, and as few as three *tattvas* as well. The practitioners of the Trika system use only three *tattvas* in the process of a quick *sādhana*: Śiva representing the absolute unity, Śakti representing the link between duality and unity, and Nara representing the extreme duality. Finally, a highly advanced ŚivaYogin sees only the Śiva Tattva in the whole of creation. However, since the contemplative practice of *tattvādhvadhāraṇā* used in *ānava upāya* includes meditation on all thirty-six *tattvas*, that is the number commonly accepted by the Śaivas of both Northern and Southern India.

14

Sirutondar

Equally striking ■ the story of Sirutondar and Śiva's miraculous intervention in his life. We have spoken of the immense importance attached to fulfilling the wishes of revered Śaiva devotees. The extreme step taken by Sirutondar in sacrificing his only five-years-old son has left an indelible impression on the minds ■ of the believers. One morning, a Bhairava devotee with matted hair, wearing an elephant skin and holding a skull in hand, arrived at Sirutondar's house and requested a midday meal. Overjoyed at the opportunity to serve a Śiva devotee, Sirutondar welcomed the guest into his home; as though in challenge the guest informed Sirutondar that he ate only once in six months, and that the meal had to be *pasu*. Interpreting *pasu* as cow (and this in itself would be sacrilegious), Sirutondar asked him to choose a cow from his herd. But the guest specified that the *pasu* he desired must be human, that it must be no more than five years of age, and that it must be willingly cut and cooked by its parents. After conferring at length with his wife, the saint agreed to provide such a meal. Since he could not demand such a sacrifice of any one else, it became necessary to sacrifice their only son, Sirala, who is said to have acquiesced without protest.

Wall-reliefs in temples depict a woman bearing the cooked, headless child on a platter. The guest now insisted that Sirutondar should eat with him, informing him that he never ate alone and also that he wished to meet the host's son before sitting down to the meal. Despite protest from Sirutondar that calling his son would be of no avail, the guest insisted that he go to the door and call out to Sirala. The legend tells of the miraculous incident of the sacrificed child Sirala who came running in answer to his father's call. It also tells of the sudden and inexplicable disappearance of the guest who had requested such a strange meal. What doubt could there be that the guest was none other than Śiva himself?

It is the human sacrifice that makes the Sirutondar story a bizarre one, specially when we consider that he and his wife and even his five-years-old son willingly made the ultimate sacrifice. The incident so caught the imagination of devout Śaivites that the entire Sirutondar family was sanctified and became worthy of worship. Independent

shrines to the saint and his blessed son Sirala were constructed in the tenth century as we know from an inscription recording gifts for lighting lamps in these shrines. In the year AD 998 three small copper images of the Sirutondar family were dedicated to the Tanjavur temple—a thirteen-inch figure of Sirutondar, a twelve-inch image of his wife and a nine-inch figure of Sirala. Sirutondar festivals were celebrated years and an inscription of the year, AD 1003 tells us of the image of Sirala being carried in procession from the Sirala shrine to the Sirutondar temple. Later records detail the laying out of a special route for his procession, and inscription speak also of a festival to mark the occasion when Śiva gave salvation to Sirutondar. Gruesome as the story sounds to us, it seems to have evoked tremendous emotional response from worshippers.

It is possible to trace a date for the occurrence of these extraordinary events? Child saint Sambandar visited Sirutondar, and sang of his great devotion; in doing so, he spoke him using the present tense. Sirutondar was clearly a contemporary of Sambandar and lived in the seventh century. A second historical synchronism for Sirutondar comes from the *Periya Purana* account which relates that he was the commander-in-chief of a Pallava ruler and responsible for a great victory at Badami. It seems probably that this victory was at the famous Pallava-Chalukya battle of A.D. 642, following which Sirutondar seems to have retired from royal service, to devote his life to the service of Śiva.

Śiva's Dance for Ṛṣi Maṅkaṇaka

Śiva showed himself to each of his devotees in a shape that met the need of the worshiper. Once, in Saptasārasvatī, a place of pilgrimage, Maṅkaṇaka, a ṛṣi, worshipped Śiva by muttering the five-syllabled *mantra*: *Namah Śivāya*. Ṛṣi Maṅkaṇaka was aglow with servile asceticism. In the transport of his joy that Rudra had come, he danced. Rudra asked him for what purpose he had danced? Although Maṅkaṇaka saw the Lord Rudra, he did not reply; he danced again and again. When the Lord, the holy one, saw Maṅkaṇaka wrapped up in self-gratifying pleasure and conceit, Rudra, to destroy the vanity of the ṛṣi, tore open his own body. Ashes came out of it, the proof of asceticism. The Rudra, the destroyer of the moving universe, assumed a form of supreme majesty: he danced, thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, his face dreadful with fangs, flame garlanded, terrifying (*KuP.* 2.32.44-53). Then the Lord God resumed his former shape, embraced his devotee, and as a boon revealed himself to Maṅkaṇaka as Kāla and the maker of Kāla, the actuator who impels all (*KuP.* 2.34.56-63).

The excitable Ṛṣi Maṅkaṇaka was one in name and legend with a seer who marked by his hermitage and history a particular *tīrtha* in Kurukṣetra (*MBh.* 3.81.1, 97). The holy land of Kurukṣetra, to the south of the river Sarasvatī, abounded in lakes and sacred places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) (*MBh.* 3.81.175-78). At the Gate of Kurukṣetra is the *tīrtha* of a famous *yakṣiṇī* (*MB.* 3.81.19-20); three other *yakṣas* guard the other gates: Macakruka, Tarantuka, and Arantuka (*MBh.* 3.81.7, 13, 42; cf. 178). Together, these four marked a sacred square. The sacred geography of India was laid out in squares, guarded at the four points by *yakṣas*, potent presences who sustained the wealth in the soil and the nourishment in the plants. The *yakṣas* had female counterparts, the *yakṣiṇīs*. Their weighty,

colossal images, carved in stone, abounded in northern and mid-India. They were more ancient than the *Mahābhārata* and some are still in existence, though the *yakṣas* ceded their worship to other gods who superseded them. One *tirtha* belonging to the Great Goddess is known as Śākambhari; here the Goddess subsisted for a thousand celestial years on plants alone. She attracted many ṛṣis, rich in asceticism. Because she entertained them with plants (*śaka*), she became known by the name Śākambhari (MBh. 3.82.11-13). Did Ṛṣi Mañkanaka, a *siddha* or sage possessed of magic powers, subsist on plants and feel their juice pulsate through his body, strengthening and elating him (MBh. 3.81.97-98)? Did he, like Trita fall into a well (RV. 1.105.17; 10.8.7), on seeing a creeper hanging down into it, will mentally the juice of the plant to be the juice of Soma, the elixir or immortality (MBh. 9.35.25-33)?

The *Mahābhārata* gives a different account of the meeting of Śiva and Ṛṣi Mañkanaka. Once, when Mañkanaka accidentally cut his finger with a blade of kuśa grass and plant juice flowed from his wound, his joy was boundless and he danced. Overwhelmed by the powerful skill of his dance, all the creatures and plants began to dance. The gods, however, went to Mahādeva requesting him to stop the dancing ṛṣi. It was then that the Great God appeared before the ṛṣi and asked the reason for the overwhelming joy that made him dance (MBh. 3.81.97-103). The ṛṣi gave the miracle of the plant juice flowing from his wound as the reason for his joy and dancing. Śiva struck his thumb with one of his fingers and ashes as white as snow flowed from his wound. The ṛṣi fell at the feet of Lord Śiva and worshipped him as the creator and ordainer of the universe and to whom all return at the end of the Yuga (MBh. 3.81.104-109). In the legend, twice told in the *Mahābhārata* (cf. MBh. 9.37.34-48), Śiva showed Mañkanaka the snow-white heap of ashes that flowed from his body. Śiva, in these early versions of the legend, did not dance. He did not display his dance of Time and Death against Mañkanaka's self-absorbed joyous transport. Śiva revealed himself in the stillness of ashes falling from the wound of his body, from a higher incandescence than that of vital exuberance or emotional transport.

The *siddha*/ṛṣi Mañkanaka had absorbed into himself the nourishing juices of the plants of this earth or the Soma juice itself, and the juice retained their purity within the body of the *siddha*. When Mañkanaka saw the plant juice flowing from his body, he felt free from the bondage of blood. The flow of ashes, however, from the body of the Great God showed a higher degree of rarefaction than the ṛṣi had achieved by the transformation of his blood into plant juice. Śiva had absorbed the world into his own self at the time of dissolution (AUp. 55 and commentary). He showed himself as Kāla and the actuator of Kāla, the fire that burns to ashes the world and all its sins (cf. KuP. 2.34.62). "What is Agni is ashes; what is air, is ash; . . . what is all this (phenomenal world) is ashes; what are the mind and such as these, the eyes, are ashes alone; the *Aryakta* from which all these originate, is also ashes," runs the *Pāśupata Vrata*, the *mantra* of the lord of creatures (AUp. 67). The elements or sense objects, the senses, mind, and its fabric are burned up, one in the other, in the ultimate conflagration that has its symbol in ashes and its Kālāgni-Rudra image in the dance of Śiva when Mañkanaka trembled and bowed his head before the Lord (cf. KuP. 2.34.55). He enlightened the sage, allowing him to see beyond the elation of the

senses and the mind, when Śiva, the Fire, will dance the cosmos out of existence and nothing will remain but Śiva alone (cf. SP. 33.28-39).

The Breakthrough from Time to Eternity

When the gods first observed with amazement that the equinoctial sun had moved from one star to another and that alongwith it the beginning of the year had moved from Orion, they had witnessed on the ecliptic the precession of the equinoxes, the greatest movement of time in the cosmos. Rudra, the Wild Hunter, aimed at Prajāpati, the year. Did he mean to arrest or undo the movement of time, as he had meant to prevent the flow of life out of the Uncreate? Prajāpati's mythical image was the antelope, whereas, ritually, the year his form. Project to the stars, the two modes of reference coalesced. The constellation Orion was beheld as the figure of Prajāpati, the antelope. As such, Prajāpati had his position fixed in the sky, whereas Prajāpati, the year, had his visual symbol on earth, in the architecture of the Vedic altar. ॥ was, however, so it would seem, the movement of the vernal equinoctial point, which marked the beginning of the year, that is, Prajāpati, from Orion toward Aldebaran (Rohini) that gave its meaning to the star myth.

Rudra was its protagonist, Time his unnamed, cooperating antagonist. Time began in consonant ambiguity with Rudra. The ambiguity of Kāla was to become the certainty of Death. Rudra as Śarva, the fierce archer, saw to it and Rudra as Mr̥tyuñjaya freed from it. The world of Rudra, the Wild God, had this coherence. He established its pattern in the dawn of the world, when he became Paśupati, the Lord of Animals.

Rudra is Agni the Fire. Fire is a hunter. Time is a fire that burns its way through life; Kālāgni, the fire that is time, burns up life, ends it. Kāla, Time, is Death. In its cosmic dimension he is Kālāgni, the doomsday fire consuming the entire creation.

Acting as the Wild Hunter, Rudra set time in motion and time took its course. It seemingly ran counter to Rudra's immediate intent, though it provided the dimension in which to manifest his actions. Rudra and Kāla were a syzygy whose momentum Rudra provided. As Kālāgni, at the end of the Yugas, the fire that is Death consumes everything, including time. "Praise be to Kāla of dark complexion; praise to the destroyer of Kāla" (LP. 1.95.41). Śiva, in ultimate fulfilment of his nature, the Fire engulfing the darkness (*taṃas*) of time, ends time itself. Śiva, the prime mover, as Kālakāla (SP. 23.24), Time beyond time, full of the highest bliss, dances at the end of the world (SP. 23.42). Enriched by flames he dances the world out of existence. All its forms dissolve in the vehemence of his dance, and their essence is reabsorbed in the universal consciousness, in Śiva. During *pralaya*, the state of dissolution, manifestation lies dormant until its slumbering potentialities shine forth in the dawn of a new creation. There, they germinate out of eternity into time.

Time, the antagonist and alter ego of Śiva, has the manifest world as his field of action. In the shape of *āyus*, the length of life or lived, experienced time, he stood as "fulcrum in the nest of the highest" (RV. 10.5.6). This image was one of the signs marking the frontier of human understanding and of absolute transcendency. The "nest of the

Highest," in which life is hatched, was located, like the bull-cow, the image of Agni, on the razor-sharp yet insubstantial line that forbids entry into ultimate reality. In itself without dimension, it is out of bounds to human understanding, for whose sake the sūtras were set up on the border.

With his first shot Rudra signalled that creation, the time-world of movement and action, had begun. Paradoxically, his arrow was directed away from the nascent world of beings. Rudra had aimed in the other direction whence the seed was about to leave its source. Thence, he derived his own momentum when, as Śarva, he let his arrows fly into creation. Rudra started his work as a hunter, an archer, and he fulfilled it as a dancer. His first witness and victim had been the Father. At the end he remains himself the only witness of the time-world consumed by his flames.

As the cosmic dancer, Śiva's work was completed, though not terminated. At the end of each aeon, the Great God dances the cosmos out of existence. Creation/destruction, an aeon cycle, takes place in temporality, the time world of Rudra-Śiva.

It was of his own making and as son of Brahmā, the Creator, that he let himself be born into it. Brahmā wanted his son to complete the work of creation, whereupon Rudra became Sthānu, motionless, detached, withdrawn, drawing within himself the life that Prajāpati had meant him to bring into the world. As Sthānu, the post, Rudra showed himself the counterpart of tree of life, unconsumed fuel to his fire, potent in seemingly arid starkness, as were the white ashes that he let flow from his body for Ṛṣi Maṅkaṇaka to see.

Sthānu stood by, leaving Brahmā's work unachieved, making himself the sign of a reality that though without definition was capable of being realised. As sign of cessation, Sthānu, the post, stood for the arrest of time, a state beyond death. The symbol shape of Śiva Sthānu, the branches stem, stands opposite to the image of dancing Śiva, his many arms, his flowing hair filling the cosmos with the rhythms of his being. Sthānu standing by the moving universe is a symbol of the timeless state attainable in *śamādhi*. Śiva, the Lord of Yoga, dwells in timeless eternity, while Śiva the dancer, performs his aeon cycle dance at the end of each aeon across which Kāla speeds.

Out of the timelessness of his stasis, Sthānu communicated his being to Time. The presence of Sthānu, when Brahmā had willed to terminate in a holocaust his flawed creation, made the Creator adjust the straight line of time running from past to future to alternating phases of movement and rest. Sthānu, in ascetic withdrawal from the world, motionless and beyond time, represents eternity realised from within. The post is a symbol of the restitution in creation of timelessness that was and is in the Uncreate. The shape of the post points upward. It supports nothing but empyrean, and signifies its realised presence in the world of time, in the heart of man. Moved by pity, Śiva Sthānu made Brahmā impart the pause of quiescence—a reflex of eternity—to the stream of time whence life and action would resurge once more.

Rudra, the Wild God, had set time into motion—past, present, and future, a fiery, consuming current. Sthānu, the Great Yogi, through Brahmā's agency communicated the quiescence of timelessness in which he dwelled to the rushing stream of time. Even so,

the waves of time rolled on, through periods of activity and withdrawal until a final conflagration and dissolution (*pralaya*).

Pralaya is the cosmic homology of absolute, transcendental Time, "Kāla in the highest heaven" or Mahākāla, before the descent of time into the world. At the end of the time-world, Kālāgni Rudra, the fire that is time and annihilation, becomes Mahākāla. As the last flame of Kālāgni flares up, it expires in Mahākāla. In that instant, Kālāgni becomes and is Bhairava, in a leap from the dissolution of the cosmos into the metaphysical realm. The dissolution of the cosmos takes place in what had been manifestation. Its annihilation is but an image of transcendency, a homology of the Uncreate. In the leap from the annihilation of the cosmos to the metaphysical realm or transcendency, Kālāgni becomes Bhairava. His explicit name is Kālabhairava (cf. *KuP.* 2.31.71.30). Because even Kāla fears him, he is called Kālabhairava (*SP.* 3.8.47), or Kālaraja, the Lord of Kāla (*S.P.* 3.8.46). Bhairava is a form of Śiva (*SP.* 3.8.60); more than that, Bhairava is Śiva's integral form. It was Bhairava or Śiva as Bhairava who snipped off Brahmā's overweening head (*KuP.* 2.31.30; *SkP.* 3.1.24.39; 4.1.31.41, 48).

The mythical identity of Bhairava corresponds with the explicit epistemological definition given to Bhairava in Śaiva thought, from the ninth to the fourteenth century, in Kashmir and in South India. In the words of H. von Stietencron, "Bhairava (in Śaiva philosophy, especially in Kashmiri Śaivism) is a designation for the undifferentiated universal consciousness. . .," comprising the entire cosmos as an unqualified and undivided whole. It is a state of supreme plenitude of the absolute and the realisation of this plenitude on the level of mental experience. "The state of absolute unity is at the same time the ultimate source of all creation." It is the first of "three fundamental planes" of experience or realisation. The third and last plane "is that of resorption, of dissolution of the world in deity." "Employing a cosmic image, this is the instant when the god takes back into himself, i.e. swallows up, the play of the universe that he produced."

Brahmā's assumed fifth head was severed by Bhairava. Libidinous from the start, overbearing and evil-tongued, it had appeared competing with Śiva's fifth head in transcendency, provoking Śiva and its own fate.

Bhairava's shape was a syndrome of terror. The gods who put together the most terrible shapes in order to compose an adequate form of Paśupati's frightfulness (*Ch.* 1.2) exhausted their resources in giving plausibility to the appearance of the Wild god on his entry into the first act of the drama of creation. This conglomerate of horror, the guise of Rudra contrived by the gods, became threadbare in the course of more than a thousand years, and allowed the naked terror of the god to assume anthropomorphic features. No image of any other aspect of Śiva compels as many contrasting iconographic types as that Bhairava, such as the frenzied, sinewy skeleton figure of Atiriktāṅga Bhairava or the staring, bloated, pot-bellied shape Bhairava that the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (*VDh.* P. 3.59.1-5) describes. Bhairava, having swallowed up and assumed Time, had taken into himself the agonies of all time, the death pang of creatures, the hollow horrors of life. Fed by them, he needed nothing more than the nail of his left thumb to cut off Brahmā's head.

The Father was wounded in his genitals by the Wild God who avenged the loss of

integrity of the absolute that the Lord of Generation had caused. Rudra carried out a paradoxical task, for the fullness of the Uncreate is not ever depleted. It flowed into creation that came to recognise Rudra, the Lord, in his many shapes. In his ultimate, integral shape, the Great God reenacted the primordial scene: he assaulted the Creator, and the head of Brahmā fell.

Śiva, son of Brahmā, was born from the head of the Creator, from his breath, from his mind. Brahmā, sarcastically, in order to humble the Great God, reminded Śiva of his place of origin. Bhairava cut off the fifth mocking head, in its most exposed, most vulnerable position. With one, barely perceptible gesture, Bhairava deleted in that head the consciousness of Rudra's birth into the cosmos. Kālāgni Rudra, the destroyer of creation (*SkP*, 7.1.9.1, 5), cut back the arrogant head, together with the memory it had held. Cutting off the head of the Creator, Kāla Bhairava relieved Brahmā of the evil that had been stored in his head.

The head of Brahmā fell and he died (*SkP*, 3.1.24.39). The head stuck to the hand of Bhairava. Once more Rudra had acted as a parricide. His guilt was not lessened when Īśvara, the Lord Śiva, brought Brahmā back to life (*SkP*, 3.1.24.40). Or Śiva consoled Brahmā: though Śiva had cut one of Brahmā's heads, Brahmā had four heads left that would never perish. Śiva admonished Brahmā not to worry over a predestined incident (*VmP*, *SM*, 28.4-5, 19-20).

Time entered the cosmic scene when the Father cohabited with the daughter and Rudra set his arrow flying. Rudra set time into motion, allowing time to unfold. In a fiery stream it would burn itself into all living things, and consume them in the darkness of Kāla, god Time who is Death (*SP*, 7.1.7.14) to the living, who is Kālāgni, the Fire of doomsday, the conflagration of the cosmos. Everything will be annihilated through Kāla, as everything has originated from Kāla (cf. *SP*, 7.1.7.1). Rudra's cooperating antagonist whom Rudra himself had set into motion, intent on preserving the integrity of the absolute, while its substance was already beginning to flow into creation.

Everything is Kālāgni's fuel until Rudra's unfettered being breaks through the flames. The breakthrough from time into timelessness is the *mysterium tremendum* of Śiva Bhairava. It is the restitution of timelessness as it was before the beginning, the timelessness of the Uncreate. Bhairava is the integral Rudra at the instant of the breakthrough from time (Kāla) into the timeless immensity (Mahākāla) of the Uncreate.

At this instant, Bhairava, with the nail of his thumb, snipped off the fifth head of the Head of the Universe. The head fell straight into this hand, stuck to his left palm, and would never leave it (*VmP*, 2.36-37). Mahādeva made Bhairava, his "other form" and integral self, take upon him the Kāpālīka vow that he would go begging all over the world with his skull-bowl, collecting alms until the skull would fall from his hand. Bhairava had to undertake this vow, the *Kāpālīka Vrata* (*SP*, 3.8.60-62; *VrP*, 97.9-10; cf. *KuP*, 2.31.64-65; 67-68; *SkP*, 4.1.31.5.1-53; cf. / *VmP*, 2.3843), in expiation of his sin for having cut off the fifth head of the Head of the world, the head of the Creator, his father. Worse than a parricide, Bhairava had cut off the head of Brahmā, who was a Brahmin, and Brahminicide was known from ancient days as the most heinous of all crimes (cf. *SB*, 13.3.5.3).

The head of Brahmā stuck to Bhairava's palm. When god Indra twisted off the head of demon Namuci, it did not let him go, rolled after him, and accused him (RV. 5.30.7; 6.20.6; TB. 1.7.6-7). Brahmā's severed head clung fast to Bhairava's palm. Its accusation took the shape of a deadful fury, called *brahmahatya*, the sin of brahminicide.

Sthānu and Brahmā are symbol and image of Śiva as transcendental reality with reference to creation. Sthānu is the symbol standing by creation; Bhairava take off from the created world. Both the figures of return from the world of time to the Uncreate, the latter with reference to cosmic, the former with reference to microcosmic or Yogic realisation.

The Wanderings of Bhairava as the Supreme Begger

Mahādeva Kālabhairava roamed over the three worlds with the skull in his hand. He came to the Deodar forest (KuP. 2.31.73-78). The sages who dwelled in the forest did not recognise the naked mendicant holding out his bowl. They were immersed in practicing austerities and tending the sacrificial fires. They conformed with sanctioned conventions. They had lost the way to release from bondage (KuP. 2.34.2-4).

They were shocked and provoked by the naked mendicant who had entered their establishment. Bhairava appeared in his form of Bhikṣātana, the Supreme Begger. As Kāpālīka/Kapālin, "bearer of the skull bowl," Śiva had been known in the *Mahābhārata* (MBs. 13.17.100); there too he was known as Mahākāla (MBh. 13.17.100); there too he was known as Mahākala (MBh. 12, app. 1, n. 28, line 249).

Bhairava-Bhikṣātana, young, stark naked, with no distinguishing attribute except his begging bowl and a garland of forest flowers, attracted the women and infuriated the ṛṣis. The Supreme Beggar, looking and behaving unlike anyone they had ever seen, put the ṛṣis to the test. He outraged their sense of propriety and excited their jealousy. They were less concerned about the interruption of their austerities and the loss of power that they had gained by these arduous exertions and that had accrued to them by the faithfulness of their wives.

The subsequent castration of the Lord, alongwith the fall of the *liṅga* of the Supreme Beggar in the Deodar forest on Mount Himavan and its transfiguration, was as momentous an even as was the fall of Brahmā's head, witnessed by the *Vedas*, on the peak of Mount Meru. Śiva-Bhairava felled the head of Brahmā, the seat of consciousness of the Creator. Bhairava ended the mythical time that had begun when the Father embraced the daughter and Rudra show his arrow. But cutting off the head of Brahmā, Rudra, who was Kāla, became Mahākāla, the paradox of time in transcendency or the realisation of eternity. The empty skull of Brahmā stuck to the hand of Bhairava. As the begging bowl to the Supreme Mendicant it needed to be filled.

The breakthrough of Kāla, or time experienced, into the realisation of metaphysical time or timelessness marked the beginning of Bhairava's pilgrimage in the triple world. He was naked, had no other garment than the sky. He held out his empty begging bowl; readily the entranced women in the Deodar forest put in their alms. When he was castrated, his *liṅga* did not fall as easily as had Brahmā's head. But when it did fall, it was transfigured as a fiery pillar without beginning or end, and traversed the cosmos.

In a former aeon, when Rudra emerged from the water, he tore out his *liṅga* in a rage. The *liṅga* was of no use to him, as he was unwilling to procreate mortals, and someone else, Dakṣa, had fulfilled this command of Brahmā. This was not Rudra's, the wild God's, the Great Yogi's, task. In the Deodar forest, the strangely seductive mendicant yogi let his *liṅga* fall. The sages cursed the organ of lust of the Supreme Beggar, the terrible god Bhairava. Had they not been outraged by his startling, unseemly ways, and had they looked at his begging bowl, they would have seen death staring at them from the skull that it was. May be the strange yogi was insane; he bowed, danced, and smiled in bliss and terror. He offended all conventions, for he had broken through all limitations. He had overcome death, he was beyond time, but at the same time he was a murderer. He had murdered his father, the Creator, a Brahmin. The head of Brahmā stuck to him, the skull did not leave his palm; *brahmahatyā*, his sin, followed him. The forest dwellers did not know that the young intruder into their settled ways of life was expiating his crime, was carrying out the Kāpālīka vow. As he went through the forest an antelope would raise its head, would rise on its hind legs toward the hand of the Great God. Off and on he would hold out to it some young leaves. This is how Indian sculptors and painters remembered and imaged Bhikṣātana, the Supreme Begger. With tenderness they gave shape to the animal (*mṛga*). At the beginning of things, it was the Father (Prajāpati) who had taken the shape of an antelope.

Rudra let his *liṅga* fall because the sages were hostile to it (*KuP.* 2.37.39-40), to the organ of lust in its naked display. Where the forest dwellers had seen seduction at play they had taken part in the mystery of Rudra-Bhairava. Having severed the head of Brahmā, he had risen above himself as Time and Death. It was a breakthrough from his manifestation in the created world into the Uncreate. In the Deodar forest, Rudra let fall, like a ripe fruit, the +severed *liṅga* from his body. As the *liṅga* touched the ground, frightening portents announced its transfiguration.

Bhairava and the *liṅga* are each the integral Śiva, the one abiding beyond time in the timelessness of the Uncreate, the other traversing the cosmos. Though the forest dwellers had not recognised the Lord in his naked shape of Bhairava, they took part in the falling of the phallus and witnessed its transfiguration. They worshiped the Lord in the *liṅga* and found peace. When the *liṅga* fell, Śiva vanished (*VmP. SM.* 22.67-68; *KuP.* 2.37.41).

Kālabhairava, Śaṅkara, the bringer of peace, continued his pilgrimage; the women followed him. They sang and danced in front of the black-faced lord, Kālabhairava. Śaṅkara then came to the abode of Viṣṇu (*KuP.* 2.31.77-79).

In the Deodar forest, Kāla Bhairava did not show the blackness of his countenance, though some could see the terrific teeth in the strange beggar's face (*BP.* 1.2.27.11). Lord Śiva in the Deodar forest did not look the same to all who saw him, nor were his movements interpreted by them in the same way. He had come to the Deodar forest on his pilgrimage of expiation, true to his Kāpālīka vow. He had come to impart the knowledge of withdrawal and peace (*nivṛtti*, *KuP.* 2.37.5). He showed himself in his nakedness; as he went along, he baffled, enraged, tested, and enlightened the sages when he allowed himself to be maimed. This was part of his pilgrimage, and he continued his progress.

To the forest dwellers who had not recognised the god, he appeared gold-complexioned, most handsome (*KuP.* 2.37.6-7), or ugly and deformed (*LP.* 1.29.9). They also saw him having come by himself, or they beheld him accompanied by a beautiful woman, who was Viṣṇu in disguise (*KuP.* 2.37.9). The sons of the sages desired her (*KuP.* 2.37.15), but this, though it brought further confusion, did not change the course of events. The *liṅga* of Śiva fell and Śiva vanished (*KuP.* 2.37.39-41). After terrible portents, the sages realised through Anusūyā, Atri's wife, that Śiva had been there, and they sought advice from (*KuP.* 2.37.42-45). On Brahmā's instruction, the worship of the Śiva *liṅga* became established on earth (*KuP.* 2.37.87-88). When the Lord appeared once more in the Deodar forest, accompanied by Pārvatī, the sages recognised and praised him, though he was smeared with ashes, his eyes were reddened, and he held a firebrand (*KuP.* 2.37.99-105).

The appearance of Śiva with Pārvatī in the Deodar forest, while it echoed, also climaxed the appearance of Śiva with entrancing Mohinī, Delusion, a form of Viṣṇu. The sages asked Śiva how they should worship him, and the Lord told them to observe the Pāśupata vow (*KuP.* 2.34.126-40). Then Śiva and Pārvatī vanished, having assured the sages they would come to them if the sages mediated on them (*KuP.* 2.37.149). As the sages mediated, Pārvatī and then Śiva alone were seen by them in glory (*KuP.* 2.37.153-57). The sages, having taken the Pāśupata vow (cf. *AUp.* 67), realised Śiva as the only and eternal reality. All else was delusion. He had appeared with the firebrand that inflamed in them the fire of knowledge of the ultimate reality (cf. *KuP.* 2.37.100). This fire burns everything to ashes. Fire itself and the sense objects—the senses too—and the mind turn into ashes.

This time the sages had seen the Lord smeared with ashes when he entered the Deodar forest. The very appearance of the Lord imbued them with the Pāśupata doctrine. Before that, from his very entry into the Deodar forest, the sages had witnessed the Supreme Beggar carrying out the Kāpālīka vow. The worship of the *liṅga* as well as the Kāpālīka and Pāśupata mode of realising Śiva were established in the archetypal forest of Deodar trees, the vital centre of the realisation of the fire of god in which everything is burnt to ashes, while the magic play (*līlā*) of the Lord retains its validity.

The Deodar forest was twice hallowed by the visit of the Supreme Beggar. By his first coming the worship of the *liṅga* became established. It was in his second visit that the Pāśupata vow was established among the sages. Śiva himself had made it lead to release (*vimukti*) (*KuP.* 2.37.140-43).

The introduction of the Goddess, amplifying the effect of Śiva's *māyā* on the forest dwellers, lent more than an operative grandeur to the Lord's play. The presence of the Goddess added overtones to the passing of Śiva, the Supreme God, the naked beggar, through the Deodar forest. In a final vision granted to the sages (*KuP.* 2.37.153-62), the Goddess, Śiva's *śakti* or power, appeared in the sky, in a garland of flames (*KuP.* 2.37.154) preceding the manifestation of the lord of *māyā*, Śiva himself, with whom she is one (*KuP.* 2.37.161).

The scene in the Deodar forest allowed for ambiguities and perplexities not only

in the reactions of the sages, their wives, daughters, and sons but also in the mind of the myth makers. Some understood the visit of the strange mendicant as a rite of passage enacted by Śiva Bhairava. Others saw Lord Śiva entering the forest distraught after the death of Sati (*VmP.* 6.58; *SkP.* 7.3.39.5-12). They knew that she had consumed herself by means of yoga in flames of grief, because Śiva, the Great God, her husband, had been excluded, on the ground that he was a Kapālin, by Dakṣa, her father, from the sacrifice he was performing (cf. *VmP.* 4.1-16). Śiva, the Kapālin, the carrier of the skull bowl, is Śiva Bhairava, the ultimate cause of the death of Sati. The forest of Deodar trees was witness to the maddening grief of Śiva, as it had been the scene of his frenzy when he had cut off the head of Brahmā.

In another myth, Śiva comes to Deodar forest full of desire. Śiva, not satisfied by making love to Pārvatī, went naked and full of desire to the Deodar forest, there to make love with the wives of the sages (*SP.* DhS. 10.78-80).

At all times, Śiva showed himself to his *bhaktā* or devotee in the shape and to the extent in which his worshipper was ready to see him. The Lord's play in the Deodar forest thus attracted to itself situations and modes of Śiva's being that were peripheral to the plot of the play. Similarly, but with an opposite effect, diverse forms of Śiva would enter, if by their name only, a narrative without any obvious connection of that name to the actuality of the story. When Maṅkanaka, for example, bowed down before Śiva, he bowed down before Girīśa, the Lord of the Mountain; Hara, the Ravisher; Tripurasūdana, the Destroyer of the Three Cities of the Asuras (*KuP.* 2.34.58). None of these epithets had any direct bearing on the legend of Maṅkanaka, yet they evoked the presence of Lord Śiva in the vastness and power that Maṅkanaka, yet they evoke the presence of Lord Śiva in the vastness and power that Maṅkanaka, came to realise. Episodes were condensed into epithets denoting permanent aspects of deity. They referred to actions that happened once as significant events in which the permanent being of deity shone forth. Thus, these incidents became part of, defined, and accentuated the image of god.

The Deodar forest drew Śiva to itself in the most intense moments of his manifestation, while roaming over the country frenzied with guilt, in the agony of mourning, and, as some say, maddened by sex. Within the sacred geography of India, the Deodar forest on its Himālayan slope was Śiva's place of passage, whereas he never left Vārāṇasī once Brahmā skull had fallen from his hand.

The play in the Deodar forest, in drawing to itself various events from the myth of Śiva, had but little concern with their sequence. Śiva had entered the Deodar forest as a Kapālin, the bearer of Brahmā's skull, while expiating the sin of Brahminicide. As a Kapālin, Śiva Bhairava, following his decapitation of Brahmā, had come to the Deodar forest. There, Śiva became castrated.

In the Dakṣa/Sati myth, however, Śiva entered the Deodar forest after the death of Sati, which she inflicted on herself in consequence of Śiva's exclusion from the sacrifice because he was a Kapālin.

In the context of Pārvatī's estrangement, Śiva entered the Deodar forest after his dissatisfaction with Pārvatī, his wife whom he had married after Sati had died. Whatever

were the reasons seen in Śiva's visit to the Deodar forest, and whether the visit was interrupted and renewed (LP. 1.29.7-24, 36.42; 1.31.20-37; KuP 2.37.2-163), it was one and the same visit differently accounted for the variously celebrated. What happened in the Deodar forest happened once and for all? The *liṅga* of the god fell and was transfigured. The different preludes and circumstances of Śiva's advent led to the same climax, and its aftermath was revealed in the mystery play in the Deodar forest.

Śaṅkara, the Bringer of Peace, left the Deodar forest with his begging bowl and, on his wanderings through the three worlds, where he visited the countries of gods and demons, came to the abode of Viṣṇu (KuP. 2.31.73-79). All the while Brahmahatyā, the ghoulish figure of Brahminicide personified, followed Bhairava. Nīla-Lohita, as soon as he had asked Bhairava to observe the vow of expiation, had sent this fury, a figure of his guilt, to accompany Bhairava. She would not leave Bhairava until they came to Vārāṇasī. She was gruesome to look at (KuP. 2.31.68-70).

Viṣvaksena the gatekeeper of Viṣṇu's residence and himself born from a portion of Viṣṇu, not knowing the purpose of the visit, now recognising the Supreme Lord, Parameśvara, checked Bhairava, who held the *kapāla* and a trident in his hand (KuP. 2.31.79-82). Bhairava sent forth a terrible attendant, who fought with Viṣvaksena, and the Great God, Mahādeva, pierced Viṣvaksena with his trident. Carrying aloft on his trident the dead body of Viṣṇu's doorkeeper, Śiva entered Viṣṇu's residence and faced the god who maintains the universe (KuP. 2.31.83-88). On seeing Śiva holding out his bowl, the blessed Lord Viṣṇu asked Śiva, the lord of the universe, why he went a-begging (SP. 3.9.23). Then Viṣṇu opened a vein in his forehead. A stream of blood gushed forth into the skull; for a thousand years it kept on flowing (KuP. 2.31.89-91). Even so, the skull bowl was not filled completely by Viṣṇu offering (KuP. 2.31.91; MP. 183.90), nor could Viṣṇu persuade Brahmahatyā to leave the trident bearer (KuP. 2.31.94-95). Viṣṇu repeated the advice given by Śiva Nīla-Lohita to Śiva Bhairava: Bhairava should proceed to Vārāṇasī, the holy city, where Brahmā's skull and the sin would fall from Bhairava (KuP. 2.31.96).

Śiva Bhairava left the house of Viṣṇu; he went away intending to visit all the sites and shrines of deep mystery. Praising the Lord, the Pramathas, the "churn spirits," as always, accompanied the Great Ascetic Śiva Bhairava, as he danced on his way holding the trident with Viṣvaksena's body transfixed on it. Anxious to see the dance of the Lord, Viṣṇu rushed after him. Mahādeva, the Great God, infinite Yoga itself on seeing Viṣṇu, danced again and again. Accompanied by Viṣṇu, Brahmahatyā, and his host of churn spirits, with his splendored bull Dharma as his vehicle, Bhairava approached Vārāṇasī. As the lord of gods entered the holy city, the miserable Brahmahatyā with a shriek went to hell. In Vārāṇasī, Śaṅkara placed the skull in front of his hosts, the *gaṇas*, the returned Viṣvaksena, his life restored, to Viṣṇu (KuP. 2.31.96-104).

Bhairava, embodiment of the breakthrough into the uncreate—Bhairava, the symbol of the shattering of contingency—having left the forest accompanied by the frenzied women (KuP. 2.31.77-78), in the course of his pilgrimage came to the house of Viṣṇu, the sustainer. Viṣvaksena, the doorkeeper, who did not recognise Mahādeva and obstructed his entry into Viṣṇu's abode, for his lack of perceptiveness and for his dutiful

obstruction found himself pierced on Śiva's trident. Bhairava, balancing the corpse of Viṣvaksena on his longstemmed weapon, and holding out his left hand with the skull bowl, entered the building. Having learned Śiva's reason for begging alms, Viṣṇu, the sustainer of the universe, made his blood spurt from his forehead into the skull bowl, without being able to fill it.

Bhairava had to move on and continue his pilgrimage. Dancing in holy madness, he proceeded in the direction of Vārāṇasī. Viṣṇu could not resist rushing after dancing god. There was no end to the dance of Śiva, himself absorbed in endless Yoga (KuP. 2.31.100), until the Great God, Śaṅkara, the bringer of peace, reached Vārāṇasī. The skull of the Creator, the blood of the sustainer of the universe, and the corpse of the Viṣvaksena swayed in the hands of dancing Rudra, the Destroyer of all fetters, the liberator.

In Vārāṇasī, as Parameśvara Śiva had decreed, the sin of *brahmahatya* left Bhairava. Ever since, whoever comes to Vārāṇasī with devotion is freed from sin, even that of Brahminicide. The holy centre where the skull of Brahmā fell to the ground became known as Kapālamocana, "liberating from the skull." It was on the eighth day of the month Mārgaśīras, the "Head of the Antelope," that Śiva appeared in the shape of Bhairava (SP. 3.9.54-56, 59-60, 63).

The coming down to earth of Bhairava, the death of Death, to the holy city of Vārāṇasī, the city of liberation, is told in the *Purāṇas* with slight variations. Viṣṇu, even before putting his question to Bhairava, had recognised Mahādeva, for he asked the Great God the reason for playing this role, and on hearing the reason he conceded to Bhairava, "you play as you please" (SP. 4.1.31.86). He saw through the play Mahādeva had staged for the sake of the sages and gods; he knew that he, the Supreme Spirit, took his forms at will, that it was the Lord's playfulness to appear before him as he did. Śiva's sight alone liberated (SkP. 4.1.31.99.101).

Śiva danced as the skull fell from his hand (cf. SkP. 5.1.2.69). Whether, as in one version, Śiva danced on his way to the holy city as he had danced, in a different mode, in the Deodar forest, or whether he danced out of joy in Vārāṇasī at the fall of the skull from his hand, it is said that Śiva manifested as Bhairava on the eighth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīras, the month called after the constellation Mrgaśīras, the head of Prajāpati.

Vārāṇasī is not the only sacred site where Bhairava was freed from the skull of Brahmā, the *kapāla*; but no other final station of Bhairava's pilgrimage was equal in sacredness to Vārāṇasī, nor had as mighty a myth. The legend of the sanctuary of Kapāleśvara, the lord of the skull tells of a sacrifice in heaven held by Brahmā and Gāyatri. A fierce, naked, object-looking man came, skull bowl in hand, and said, "give men food." The participants in the sacrifice wanted to drive away the sinful, naked Kapālin, bearing a skull, unfit for sacrificial rites. The awful-looking beggar said that on hearing of Brahmā's sacrifice, he had come from after. He was hungry. Why did they revile him? The Brahmins insisted that he leave quickly, for their sacrificial hall was not a place for one emaciated by hunger. When the intruder heard this, he threw the skull on the floor. The Brahmins asked him to throw it out. As the beggar did not stir, the Brahmins

asked someone to remove the skull with a stick. This was done— and immediately another skull appeared on the spot. When that skull was thrown out, yet another cropped up, and so it went on for a hundred thousand years. Hosts of skulls appeared and polluted the sacrifice. Finally, Brahmā asked the intruder why he spoiled the sacrifice. Śiva then said to Brahmā: “you know that not the same offerings are made to me as to other gods. I get a special portion.” Brahmā assured Śiva that in the future no sacrifice would be complete without taking Śiva into account. There would always be a special chant for him. He would stand near the gate, skull in hand, and would be known as Kapāleśvara, lord of the skull. Śiva then destroyed all the skulls (cf. *SkP.* 6.1.182.1-41).

In this skull fantasy, replacing the one skull that clung to Śiva's hand by a series of self-renewing skulls, Bhikṣāṭana, the Supreme Mendicant, appeared as a hungry, naked beggar; some, however, say he was dressed in tattered rage, dirty and dusty (*SkP.* 7.1.103.3). The humiliated and subsequently accepted intruder was Rudra, the stranger who appear darkly clad at the Vedic sacrifice (Ch. III. 2) before Brahmā had been heard of an Indian myth.

Brahmā, it is told elsewhere, he provoked his decapitation when Rudra, his newborn son, sat on his shoulder and the fifth head of Brahmā prognostically chanted the *Ātharvaṇa* mantra. “O Kapālin, O Rudra. . . protect the world. . .” Subsequently, Rudra cut off his father's head (*VrP.* 97.3-7). He became a Kapālin and observed and Kāpālīka vow (*VrP.* 97.10-11), enjoined for murderers of Brahmins (M. 1173). The fulfilment of the vow took him to Vārāṇasī (*KuP.* 2.31.96.101). On his wanderings over the earth, Rudra divided the head of Brahmā, keeping one piece of the skull in hand and putting the pieces in his own hair, made himself a sacred thread out of its hair, and made the beads of his rosary and garlands out of the “big” bone (*VrP.* 97.11-14). A skull grins from the parting of the hair of an uncannily lovely Bhikṣāṭana bronze image of the eleventh century.

In this version, not only did Śiva carry the head of Brahmā resting in his hand and hair, but he was seen wearing a garland of heads, thousands of heads, thousands of them Brahmā heads (cf. *SkP.* 7.1.9.5, 6), and he loved the place where corpses are burned (*KSS.* 2.8-15). On such recreation grounds, also, Śiva danced. To him who had overcome death, its shapes—the skulls and bones—were but ornaments swaying with his dancing body.

The macabre exuberance of Śiva's death ornaments was but a sequel to Śiva's orgiastic entry into Viṣṇu's house. With Brahmā's, the Creator's, skull stuck to one hand, Bhairava speared Viṣṇaksena, the dutiful if not perceptive gatekeeper. Flaunting the corpse of Viṣṇaksena on his trident, the Wild God stepped across the threshold and faced god Viṣṇu, the Preserver of the universe. Lord Viṣṇu, despite the intrusion of Śiva into his house and the presence of the corpse of his gatekeeper held aloft on Śiva's trident, offered his own blood into the *kapāla* in Śiva's hand. He let it spurt from his forehead (*KuP.* 2.31.89-90), or from his right hand, which he held out to his guest (*PP.* 5.14.14-15) so that his blood might fill the empty skull bowl. It has never yet been filled. Śiva's fire eye again and again consumed what was offered into the skull that stuck to his palm? Śiva himself once said of the *kapāla* that this world, resembling a skull, rested in his hand (*KSS.* 2.15).

Śiva, the Destroyer, having forcibly entered the house of Viṣṇu, the Preserver, was

given a guest offering such as only the Sustainer of the World could offer him. Viṣṇu gave Bhairava his life blood and, in ecstasy, he followed Bhairava, who danced his way to Vārāṇasī. God Viṣṇu himself, like the women of the sages in the forest who had followed the naked mendicant, left his home to be near the dancing beggar. God Viṣṇu, as Śiva was departing, jointed the wild, ghastly cortege of the skull-bearer wielding his trident with the corpse of Viṣṇu's gatekeeper impaled on it. The dead body of him who was to have guarded the house of Viṣṇu decorated Śiva's trident and swayed in the joyous dance of the Lord. The horrible Brahmahatyā followed the God all the while on the way to Vārāṇasī.

Carrying the skull of Brahmā and the corpse of Viṣvaksena, Bhairava danced, a moving figure of Consciousness that had transcended, while in its fullness it comprised all conditions in which God manifests to the eye of mortals. Having severed the head of the Creator and killed the guardian of the house of the Sustainer of creation, Bhairava had cut through all fetters. Horrendous, object, naked, or in rages that emphasised his nakedness, self-contradictory and consistent with his unspeakable being, with an entrancing smile on his lips he bared his fangs. The images of the Lord show him young and in glory as Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, the Supreme Beggar. They show him as Kaṅkālamūrti, carrying the impaled body of Viṣvaksena; or emaciated and deathlike in the image as Bhairava; or stern, bloated, his matted hair surrounded by flames, fiercely ponderous, and black as Kāla and Mahākāla. No contradictions were adequate and no single iconographic likeness sufficed to render the total, tremendous mystery of Bhairava. The furthest outreach of contradictory qualities was gathered in the intensity of the myth, and split in the variety of images in bronze and stone. They adumbrate the breakthrough from time into eternity, from Kāla to Mahākāla, from creation back into the Uncreate.

The head of Brahmā was cut off by Śiva Bhairava. The gatekeeper at the threshold of Viṣṇu's house was pierced to death by the trident of Śiva Bhairava. He entered the house of Viṣṇu, the Preserver of the world, and left, at Viṣṇu's advice, for Vārāṇasī, where sin, guilt, and the skull of Brahmā fell from Śiva. The skull broke into a thousand pieces (MP. 183.99-100); with a shriek Brahmahatyā sank into the netherworld. When the frenzy of the ecstatic pilgrimage of Bhairava on earth came to its end, the god was then there released from all fetters of his own making (cf. VmP. 3.42-44). After he had taken his bath in a wonderful pond, full of lotuses, the pond became known as Kapālamocana, "releasing of the skull" (VmP. 3.47-51).

Having being freed from the cut-off head of Brahmā, Śiva returned into transcendence whence the Wild Hunter from out of nowhere had appeared in the primordial scene.

At Kapālamocana, Śiva was freed from his sin of having cut off the head of Brahmā. The site forever remains the most holy abode of Lord Śiva on earth. It was called Avimukta, the region never forsaken by the Great God (MP. 181.13-15; 183.99; 184.25-28). In his terrible shape, motionless and stable like a pillar, Lord Śiva stays then until the dissolution of the world (MP. 182. 3-4). His abode is invisible to ordinary man, in space (*antarikṣa*) above the cremation ground; only Yogis, *brahmacārins*, and those who know the

Veda can see it (MP. 182.5-8). Those who go to Avimukta obtain not only freedom from sin but also freedom from the cycle of births and deaths; they obtain final release and union with Śiva (MP. 182.11-27). The Great God resides in Avimukta with all his attendants. Some have faces like infuriated lions and wolves, other are hunchbacked, some are dwarfs, others are contorted; armed giants guard the sacred grove of Avimukta (MP. 183.63-67).

The motely crowd of the freakish retinue of Śiva is a part of his ambience. Indefinitely variable in its monstrosity, wit and vitality, it includes the misshapen as possibilities with his orbit. Rudra refused to create mortals because they were imperfect. The retinue of Śiva, *bhūtas*, *gaṇas*, *pramathas*, *pāṛṣads*, *kumbhāṇḍas*, *rākṣasas*, and *piśācas*—different types of spirit, sprites, ghosts, and ghouls—do not belong to the pitiable class of mortals; they are part of Rudra's being, tremors resonances of his nature, byproducts of tensions that sustain his contradictory wholeness. They are scintillations of the Rudras, smithereens of the terrifying glory of Rudra-Śiva himself.

His abode was the burning ground, which was covered with hair and bones, full of skulls and heads, thick with vultures and jackals, covered with a hundred funeral pyres, an unclean place covered with flesh, a mire of marrow and blood, scattered piles of flesh, resounding with the cries of jackals" (MBh. 13.128.13-15). Indeed, in his wanderings all over the earth, the Great God had always been in search of a hallowed spot. "There is nothing purer than a cremation ground," Śiva declared (MBh. 13.128.16). The hosts of ghostly beings that are his companions loved to dwell there, and Śiva did not like to stay anywhere without them (MBh. 13.128.18).

Revulsion as a means of detachment had its form in the imagery of the cremation ground. It dwelt not on the cessation of life and the purgation of the mortal body through the consuming fire, but on the byproducts of physical disintegration. Through gruesome, they were less terrifying than disgusting.

Revulsion in its last degree of sublimation reaches up to holiness. As part of the divine play of the Great God, it hovers above the cremation ground, shedding its ordor in the eternal purity of the *antarikṣa*.

The burning ground offers its extreme situation after the end of the life of the body, full of debris in which the ghouls delight, the ghouls whose company, Śiva never liked to be without. The residence of Śiva, above the burning ground in Avimukta, is never without Śiva, as the word Avimukta implies. The forest of Deodar trees on the other hand, was but a place of passage for Śiva on his wanderings. It was the place of the critical moment, after Śiva had decapitated his father the Creator, or after he lost his wife Sati by her self-immolation. The Deodar forest was the place of the highest pitch of the god's passion. He danced, laughed, acted like a madman, and was inwardly calm when his *liṅga* fell.

In his divine play, Rudra-Śiva, the Wild Gold, assumed many guises or shapes, but he did not wear a mask. As Bhairava, his fearful countenance revealed his fangs and revoked the smile that came to the lips of the Great God every so often when he addressed himself to the gods. His laughter resounded from the measureless flaming *liṅga* that traversed ■ cosmic night.

The macadre setting of the burning ground was the local of the detachment of Lord Śiva. The smile and laughter of the god, which he released on so many occasions, were similarly expressions of his aloofness from whatever situation he summoned. They conveyed the surpassing joy that set his play going—in heaven, on earth, and in the neither world. It was staged from Śiva's abode in the space of the cremation ground, "for who could live, who could breathe, if there were not his bliss in the space?" (TU p. 2.7).

15

Śiva-Paśupati in the Indus Civilization

The epoch-making discover of the Indus civilization radically altered the shape of Indic studies. This discovery especially puts forth before us a new point of view for consideration regarding Śaivism. On the basis of certain findings from Harappa and Mohenjodaro, the worship of Śiva has been traced back only to pre-Aryan beginnings of scholars. It has, however, already been shown that Śaivism is much older than pre-Dravidian too. It is a fact that a large variety of archaeological findings from Harappan sites have an obviously or unquestionably religious significance. Though there is no unambiguous evidence for the existence of religious structure such as a temple or any religious shrine in the Indus cities, there have been some buildings such as House A-1 in Mohenjodaro which, according to Wheeler, may have been a temple. Likewise, the 'Great Bath' of Mohenjodaro is probably a religious shrine because the existence of such Great Baths may be seen at the sacred places in India even in her subsequent history.

As for the possible cult objects, Wheeler reminds us of 'the notorious incapacity of material symbols to represent the true content and affinity of a religion or belief'; as well as 'the indivisibility of religious and secular concept in ancient times'. Moreover, the fact that we are still unable to read the Indus script is a serious handicap to a complete understanding of the finds, especially the seals and tablets on which the written evidence appears. Attempts have been made by scholars to decipher the script, but none of them is valid till now. Under such circumstances, one has necessarily to depend upon the portable objects such as seals, stone statuaries and terracotta figurines suspected to bear valuable information about the religious belief and practices of the Indus people.

A large number of seals, terracota figurines discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa show that the people in the Indus civilization had definitely certain religious ideas and practices. There is, however, nothing unnatural about it, as religion has always placed an important role in almost all ancient cultures of the world. The people of the Indus valley seem polytheistic in their religious beliefs like those of the contemporary civilization, viz., Sumer and Babylonia.

Among the sculpture fragment found at Mohenjodaro in the famous male bust carved of a whitish limestone. This figure is clothed in a robe which is carried over the left shoulder and under the right arm and on which is carved in relief the trefoil pattern which, judging from its frequent appearance at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, is obviously a sacred

symbol. The figure has a short beard and shaven upperlip in the same fashion as noticed in the figures of gods and priests in ancient Sumner.

According to Marshall, the foremost among the Indus pantheon was the Mother-Goddess. Innumerable terracotta figurines recovered from the Indus sites are said to be her representations. But K.N. Shastri thinks that among the Indus pantheon, it was not the female element as suggested by Marshall and other scholars of his school but it was the male one that predominated. In other words, the Mother Goddess was not a Supreme deity of the Indus religion. K.N. Shastri quotes the view of Marshall that 'in the Vedic mythology Goddess played only a subordinate part, the principal deities were exclusively male'. Supporting this view, K.N. Shastri adds that the same is also true of the Indus valley people. Their principal gods were mostly male, and the Goddess played only subordinate role. He further says that the chief god of the Egyptians was Amon Ra, the king of the gods, and lesser divinities Osiris, Isis, Horus, Path, Mentu, Atmu, etc., being his emanations, represent subsequent evolutionary stage.

In Sumer, Ea, Enlil and Anu symbolise respectively the supreme gods of the earth, the water, and the sky from the earliest triad known in history. Similarly, in Asia Minor the deities personifying the natural phenomena were exclusively male. Sir Arthur Evans found positive proof of it in a Cappadocian seal datable to C. 2400 B.C. Hatshepsut and other queens of Dynastic Egypt used to wear false beards on state occasion, thus preserving the age-old tradition that as a matter of fact the right to govern is a male prerogative. These evidences prove beyond doubt that it is the male, not the female, element that dominated the religion of the Indus people. On the basis of this fact, ■ may be supposed that the male god of the Indus seal which has been identified as a prototype of Śiva might have been the principal deity of the Indus religion.

This male god which is represented on the seal from Mohenjodaro is a three-faced deity. The deity is nude, seated in a cross-legged position on a throne with erect penis and surrounded by elephant, tiger, buffalo and rhinoceros, with deer appearing under the seat. He wears a large number of bangles and ornaments, a tall horned headdress; and an inscription of seven letters appears at the top. Two more seals of this group having the same representation of such a deity have been found from Harappa by Mackay. In two of these seals the god is seen seated on a stool, and, in the third, on the ground. On all the three seals, the god is nude, and wears a number of bangles. On two seals he has three faces, and, on the third, a single one in profile. All these representations have horns, but on two of them, a string of flowers or leaves rising from the head between the horns strongly suggests that the figure so ornamented may be that of a fertility god or Vegetation god analogous to Śiva, who personifies the reproductive power of Nature.

Marshall has identified this deity as the prototype of the Indian god Śiva in his aspect of Paśupati, lord of the beasts. The deity has three faces and, perhaps, even a fourth on the back side. This fact gives strong support to Marshall's view as Śiva in the later period is pictured with as many as four/five faces. In historic times, Śiva has been portrayed with one, three, four or five faces and with three eyes. The four faces of Śiva are referred to in the story of Tilottama in the *Mahabharata*. It has always been held that

Śiva is one of the oldest gods of the Indians. There are abundant historical evidences that the worship of this Śiva-like god has been prevalent from the pre-historic times; and this automatically leads to the interpretation of the figure on the seal that it could not be but of Śiva himself.

Another three-faced image has been found by D.R. Bhandarkar among the ruined temples of Devangana near Mount Abu. According to him, this Trimurti does not represent Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu blended into one, but is actually a form of Śiva. Marshall has, however, questioned the identification of Bhandarkar because the latter does not explain or justify his stand. Yet in the absence of any better identification, it would not be unreasonable to hold, at least tentatively, that the figure in question is that of Śiva. Other similar examples are cited by Gopinath Rao which have been found from Melcheri in the N. Arcot district, from Gokak in the Begaum district, which belong to later Pallava period (C.A.D. 700). Rao also takes the famous three-headed sculpture in the Elephanta cave to be a representation of Mahāśmurti, and not of the Trimurti as commonly supposed. One three-faced image has also been found in a temple at Jagatsukh in Kullu.

The concept of the Trinity or triad may thus be associated with the figure of the Indus seal deity. But such a highly philosophical concept could not have crystallized at such an early stage. It is generally believed that the three-faced figure suggest the amalgamation of the cult of Śiva with other cults and that the fact is signified by giving him three-faces instead of one. The concept of Trinity is a very old one in India. In Indian literature the germ of this doctrine is traceable as far back as the R̥gveda, and it is equally old in Mesopotamia where the triad of Sin, Shamash and Ištar, and Anu, Anlil and Ea had developed. This Indus deity might have been a prototype of the later Indian triad of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Thus, it seems, that this Trimurti God of the seal represents Śiva alone, and not the triad. This three-faced god most likely is the forerunner of the later evolution of the triad, which is quite evident from the three-headed animal figure on the seal which is a combination of the bison, unicorn and ibex.

The other characteristic feature of this deity is the Yogī-like posture which bears a strong resemblance with the Yogīśvara aspect of the historic Śiva. The deity is sitting in a cross-legged position with feet down and hand extended above the knees. A deity in the same Yogic attitude is also depicted on a small faience sealing from Mohenjodaro. In it there is a kneeling Naga with hand uplifted in prayer. The historic Śiva is wellknown as the prince of yogis, as he is called Mahayogi and Maheshvara and an ascetic in the Vedic literature, especially in the Epics. In Śaivism Yoga has an important role, as in other Indo-Aryan religious sects. The unmistakable attitude of the Indus deity proves that the idea of some aspects of Yoga must have been known to the Indus people.

Another aspect of the historic Śiva, Śiva as 'Paśupati', is also evident from this figure of the deity. The deity is surrounded by four animals. Rudra, the Vedic god, has been identified with Śiva later on in the Epics and Pauranic literature has the epithet of Paśupati (the lord of the cattle) for Śiva. Evidently, the figure on the Indus seal may be identified as the earlier prototype of the historic Śiva.

The God as a dominator or protector of animals is also found in a similar attitude

on a cult relief from Assur feeding the two goats, and on a relief in Minetel Bieda, on the syrian shore. A sculptured slab from Karkesmish shows a kneeling man surrounded by animals, evidently a slightly changed repetition of prototype of Śiva of the Indus Valley.

These two attitudes behind this man-animal relationship corresponding to the long history of a hunter and saviour of animals are two definite stages in his evolution from barbarism to civilization.

Dr. Fukari has referred to a relief image from Bactria showing a god on the point of killing goat by stabbing it with a dagger. According to him its meaning is the struggle between man and animal in the beginnings of history, one of the oldest subjects in the Orient. In those days the theme usually represented the idea of Zoroastrian dualism with the king standing for Ahura mazda and the beast for Angramainyu. This image is thus a link in the chain of myths and images of Man *versus* Animal theme. In one of the world's earliest epics, the Gilgamesh, we have the image of Enkidu who eats grass in the hills with the gazelle, just lives with the wild beasts in the water holes and has joy of the water with the herds of wild game. But soon after Enkidu has become a man, he takes arms to hunt the lion, so that the shepherds could rest during the night. He catches wolves and lions while the herdsmen lie in place. This attitude changes later and Enkidu fights with Humbaba and the bull of heaven created by Ishtar and lions in the passes of the mountain. He becomes a hunter. Thus the two pictures, the wild Enkidu, friend and tamer of animals, and the urban Enkidu enemy and hunter of animals, depicted on ancient seals, may provide the parallels in the Rudra-Śiva myth in the two apparently contradictory attitudes of Śiva. Śiva as a preserver and killer of the animals has also been represented in the Brahmanas.

In his hunter aspect, Śiva resembles Dionysus. Another god parallel to Śiva Paśupati in the ancient world seems to be Teshub. Prof. E.O. James describes Teshub, the ancient god of Hitti, the male partner of the Mother-Goddess on a lentoid bead seal found near Cana (the site of the ancient kydonia). It represents him as the master of the animal standing between two sacral horns with a demon to the left. To his right is a winged goat with the tail and hind quarters of a lion. Although the accompanying animals are mythical, the basic figure is clearly recognisable as that of a god similar to Śiva-Paśupati. It is, thus, evident that in almost all ancient mythologies one comes across a god, who is the overlord of the animals, but nowhere else has this god assumed as much greatness and importance as in ancient India under the name of Rudra-Śiva. Indeed, in the light of these parallel evidences, Marshall's interpretation of the seal god as 'Paśupati' is certainly more than justified.

Now one thing which is very peculiar in the figure of the deity is the pair of horns crowning his head. Such horns are also found on various terracotta figures from Mohenjodaro on which the horns appear on the heads. According to Marshall, they are the emblem of the deity. In Sumner and Babylonia horns were commonly used to denote the deity and also worn by kings or priests because they were regarded as incarnation or representative of the horned gods. These horns have been identified by R.D. Banerjee with the Trishula in order to connect his deity with Śiva. This peculiar three pointed head-

dress appearing on the seal has been interpreted as horn and a mark of divinity of Marshall mainly on the analogy of the Egyptian horned deities. But this analogy does not hold good in India where horned deities are unknown. The theory of development of the trident from these doubtful horns is untenable because there is hardly any trace of the knowledge of trident among the Indus valley people. Mackay is in doubt whether what looks like horn in the seal is really head-dress, but he identifies it as a deity surrounded by a plant motif with three branches. This view of Mackay is also not acceptable because of the fact that the branches of leaf are visible in other seals which are supposed to represent fertility god but they are not clear in the seal of this nude deity. Heras has observed that these horns are the representations of the trident placed over the seal of Śiva. In the present state of our knowledge, it would perhaps be better to assume that it is merely a mark of divinity.

There are also deer or ibexes beneath the seat of the god. We also find two deer in the same position on many medieval images of Śiva, especially on the Dakshinamurti or Yogadakhinamurti of Śiva. Deer on one of the hands of Śiva is a frequent attribute of the god in other manifestations. The two deer beneath the throne recall, of course, the familiar deer beneath the Buddha's throne in a *dharma-chakra* scene, where they are symbolic of the deer-park in which the first sermon was preached. It seems that this motif in early Buddhism in India was borrowed from the Śaivites, as 'Śaivism' is certainly much older than the Buddhist religion.

It is necessary here to examine one more point regarding this deity which has also helped scholars to link him with Śiva, viz. the presence of the phallus or *urdhvamedhra*. Several other conical, smooth stones unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa also have been interpreted as phallic but it cannot be said with certainty that they are associated with the worship of Śiva at that early date. This association, however, seems probable when Marshall identifies the seal god as the prototype of the Śiva of historic times as phallic worship is associated with Śiva. Marshall has divided these aniconic objects, generally of stone, but occasionally of other materials also, into three classes. The first class comprises those which are unquestionably phallic and prove that phallism was in vogue in India during that time.

Another point of evidence on the same point is furnished by two specimens of the same kind—one a phallus; and the other, a *yonī*; which were found by Sir Aurel Stein on Chalcolithic sites in Northern Baluchistan at Mughal Ghundai and Periano Ghundai. This type of phallus-like objects were also found at Dimapur and Kasoman in Assam which are ascribed to a non-Aryan people by Dr. Bloch. It is supposed that these miniature specimens might have been used for games, but the larger specimens are too heavy for that purpose, and their shape also does not suit them for being used as weights. These do not appear to be of any other utilitarian purpose. Thus to suppose that they are sacred objects of some sort may be correct. The larger phalluses are perhaps meant to serve for the cult purpose, the smaller as amulets to be carried on the person; just as miniature lingas are commonly carried by Śaivites in the later period of Indian history (e.g., the Bharaśivas).

The stones of the second class are more varied in size than those of the first. In shape they resemble the *Lingas* seen in Śiva temples today. These may be called phallic in character. Moreover, they resemble the baetylic stones of Western Asia. A good example of such baetylic stone has recently been unearthed in the temple of the Makel at Beisan. Another was the famous omphalos of Delphi.

The third class of these stone objects comprises ring stones which have been found in large numbers at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. A wellknown example of this class of stones is the Shrigundi stone at Malabar Point, near Bombay. Another famous one is at Shatrunjaya, the hole in it is known as *mukutadwara*. These and other stones of the class are definitely regarded as *yonis* or female symbols of generation. These rings might have been identified as magical properties.

From the above discussion, it is clear that there are numerous evidences of stone worship in the form of phallus and yoni. All the three types represent three distinct cults which do not seem compatible, but it is not unnatural to suppose that the Indus valley people were also worshippers of the *Linga* and yoni, as phallus worship had already started in other countries at that time. Evidence of phallus worship has been traced to many countries in ancient times. It occurs in ancient Egypt, in Syria, in Babylon, among the Assyrians, in Persia, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany and among the Gauls. In Egypt the phallus is represented as the symbol of generation. According to Ptolemy, the phallus was the object of religious worship among the Assyrians, and also among the persians. The Jews did not escape this worship; we see their women manufacturing phalluses of gold and silver.

This worship has been found prevalent in different parts of America, in Mexico, in Peru, at Hayti. We see that the phallus worship prevailed in the centuries which are contemporaneous with the civilization of the Indus Valley.

Thus, this is quite reasonable to suppose, in the light of the evidence of the prevalence of phallic worship in other contemporary civilizations, that it obtained no less in the Chalcolithic period in India too. But to say that it was connected with Śiva on the basis of seals depicting the phallus-like organ seems impossible. The bull was a sacred animal which is clear from the short-horned bull and the humped bull on the various seals from Mohenjodaro. Yet it appears that the bull was not connected with Śiva during that the time because the bull is missing among the animals depicted. The same may be said with respect to the Naga worship which was popular among the Indus people.

Marshall's identification of the deity of the figure with Śiva-Paśupati or a prototype of Śiva raises a problem when one tries to understand the nature of Śiva. His hypothesis has been built mainly upon a single seal, though there are also two other seals of the same series. These two differ from the first in certain particulars. There is also a seal showing the figure of a deity who is seated cross-legged on a platform with a serpent and worshipper to either side. But his seal is so badly worn that it is impossible to distinguish any distinct features of the figures. Although Marshall's interpretation of the religion of the Indus culture has been accepted almost universally and has greatly influenced

scholars for the understanding of the historical development of Hinduism, it does not seem to be convincing because he has linked all aspects of the deity directly with the historic Śiva which shows developed iconographic features. His eagerness to discover the origin of Śaivism in this seal has led him to suggest such imaginative hypothesis. Now the question arises whether the archaeological evidences fully support all the hypotheses of Marshall or there might be other equally, or even more plausible, interpretations of these finds. It is therefore necessary to re-examine the important material upon which Marshall based his hypothesis.

The main defect of Marshall's interpretation is that first of all there is no certainty whether the seal is a cult idol or god; furthermore, if it is a form of god or a cult idol, whether it is male or female. Marshall himself is not sure on this point. That the figure is deity may be supposed from the head-dress of horns which was a sign of divinity in archaic religions. Moreover, even Marshall conceded that what appears to be an erect phallus can be in reality the end of a waistband. He himself admits, 'whether the god is intended to be ithyphallic or not is doubtful.' A careful scrutiny of the waistband on a number of a female terracotta figurines will show that it is probably a part of the waistband. This judgment is supported by the fact that on the other two seal representations of the prototype of Śiva, there is no suggestion of a phallus. Instead, there is a tie or tassel hanging from the waistband. Mackay in comparing the figures on the three seals fails to see an erect phallus but finds only 'a cincture worn round the waist apparently also passed between the legs, a garment very similar to the 'langot' worn in the present day India.'

Again, waistbands and girdles are found only on the female figurines—the male is always shown in the nude. Furthermore, the arm bangles and necklace worn by the figure are the jewellery which lavishly adorns the female figure in the Harappan Art. And, finally, the pigtail worn by one of the other two proto-Śiva figures is the same as that seen on the tree goddess, and the coil framing the face of the other figure is like that on some of the female figurines. Thus, there is no positive evidence for the figure's being male, though there is a considerable suggestion for its being female. The figure on the prototype-Śiva seal is probably not a male, but a female deity. In fact, the same deity on the other two seals of this series wearing the three-pointed head-dress, has been identified by Mackay as the goddess of Vegetation-fertility.

The figure of the seals manifests herself in the sacred tree as the goddess of Vegetation. Could it be that surrounded by animals, she appears on the proto-Śiva seal in another role—namely, as the Mistress of the animals? That this could be so can be supported by the representations on other seals of an apparently female deity associated with wild beasts. On one seal there is a scene of a horned deity—semihuman, semibovine—apparently in combat with a horned tiger beneath a tree. The total absence of a phallus and the prominent presence of well-shaped beasts show that this might be a goddess. Marshall regards the seal as a possible representation of 'the Sumerian Eabani or Ankidu—the half-man, half-bull monster whom the goddess Aruru creates to combat

Gilgamesh, but who afterwards becomes his ally and with him fights against the wild beasts.

Another seal seems to combine the two motifs of the animal Mistress and the Tree-Goddess. Yet another seal, an elongated, three sided one seems to repeat his combination of motifs. On one of the three sides, there ■ again the goddess in her tree, with the tiger beneath. The theme of a tiger menacing a figure (the goddess?) in a tree is repeated on at least three other seals from Mohenjodary.

Considering the ancient Harappa culture and its economy, this dual nature of the Indus Goddess as Vegetation-fertility deity and Mistress of the animals is probable—because both agriculture and hunting had a considerable place in their culture. The hunting aspect is evident in a large number of fishhooks and hunting weapons found at Mohenjodaro and also on seal depiction of hunting scene. Hunting was clearly an important activity in the Harappan culture as it has been in the peasant communities of Sind and Baluchistan which both preceded and were contemporaneous with it. It is not unlikely, then, that the Goddess should have been not only the giver of vegetational life but also the 'Mistress of the Beasts', and the patroness of hunting. This is suggested not only by the bovine goddess 'Eabani' seal, but also by two copper tablets showing an upright semibeast, semihuman figure with pigtail, two horns, and tail in full stride, carrying, in one hand, a bow, and in the other, an indistinguishable item.

In this regard mention might also be made of the seals from Mohenjodaro which show an apparently completely human figure standing between two upright tigers, holding off each with an outstretched arm. The sex of the figure ■ indeterminate, but the absence of a phallus and the peculiar arrangement of the hair suggest that this may be another representation of the Goddess as 'Mistress of the Beasts'.

Considering the available archaeological evidences, it would appear that the cult centring round the 'proto-Śiva' seal might be of Mother Goddess. If there was any distinct male deity, it is impossible to say just what his nature and his role were? Certainly, there is really little basis for reading back the later Vedic and post-Vedic god Śiva into the Indus Civilization.

According to Marshall, the figure has three faces and is further indicative of its being the prototype of Śiva, who, in classical Hindu iconography, is often depicted with three or even four faces. What is supposed to be a three-faced figure looks more like the head of a Brahmi-Bull or perhaps even the head of a tiger? As tiger itself might be a heterophany of the Indus Goddess showing a combination of the Goddess with a tiger's body. Furthermore, the other two seals of this series depicting the deity do not show three faces, but in one case, a single face in profile, and, in the other, a face framed in a coil. There is also a possibility regarding the three faces ■ of the deity being the syncretic form of three deities rolled into one, as the concept of triad or Trinity is very old in India as well as in Mesopotamia. However, Marshall has identified it as the three-faced Śiva.

As for the Yoga aspect of the figure (that the figure ■ on the seal is the prototype of Śiva as the Mahayogi), Marshall refers to another find, the bust of a male whose eyes seem concentrated on the tip of his nose in the Yogic fashion. But in this bust the eyes are

really missing, which cannot therefore be taken as a clear evidence, this way or that. According to Mackay, 'the same kind of eye has been noticed in very early clay figures from Kish and Ur'.

In spite of these archaeological evidences, some other scholars have questioned the very hypothesis suggested by Marshall. K.N. Shastri thinks that the whole form of the deity is 'cunningly contrived to be a combination of various animals'. His face is that of buffalo, head-dress consists of the horns of univorns and the foliage of the pipal tree; arms are made of centipedes, the body below the neck is composed of two serpents whose heads partly merge in the region of the chest, but bodies branch off below the waist to form legs, the chest if not partly tigerine, has at least a covering of tiger skin, the supports of the seal are crobs. Thus the god 'comes near to the Vedic god Rudra', who in the *Altareya Brahmana* is said 'to be composed of the most terrible substance'. It is also said that 'there are some common points that evidently link the buffalo-headed god with the Vedic Rudra on the one hand, and the historic Śiva, on the other.' Again, it is suggested that 'he is in some way connected with the Mahishasura episode of Puranic times.' How the same god Rudra becomes Śiva and Mahishasura is far from clear. Besides this, the aforesaid iconography of Rudra is not supported by any text and is purely conjectural.

T.N. Ramachandran holds that the aforesaid deity has a composite figure consisting of hawk, buffalo and ox and in support of the view, he cites the *Rigveda* where Soma is described in the same manner. But this iconography has nothing to do with Rudrah-Pashunam-adhipati, described in the Veda.

Deshmukh is of the opinion that the god on the seal represents the three-headed, six eyed god described in the *Rigveda*. He says that the figure is not of Śiva-Paśupati, but of the three headed god of the enemies of the aryaans with whom they came in conflict after entering India. According to him the opinion of Marshall about the figure is based on picture reading which is often misleading, and mostly so when one does not know the significance as is understood by the author about the particular object in the picture. Such an opinion has not greater value than a guess. Deshmukh, therefore, has identified Śiva-Paśupati with Viśvarupa Tvastra which has been represented as a supreme deity in the *Rigveda*. Buddha Prakash has also supported this view.

Nilakantha Shastri says that while Marshall's explanation appears conclusive in regard to the cult of the Mother-Goddess, the phallic cult, and the tree and animal cults, his speculations on the male god who, he thinks, is a prototype of the historic Śiva, are rather forced, and not so convincing as the rest of the chapter. It is difficult to believe on the strength of a single 'roughly carved seal' that all specific attributes of Śiva as Mahēśa, Mahayogi, Paśupati and Dakshinamurti were anticipated in the remote age to which the seal belongs.' He further says, the interpretation of these data can hardly become final until the inscriptions on the seals are satisfactorily explained.

In this way, these scholars deny the possibility of the Śaiva cult having its origin in the religion of the Indus Valley people.

There have been many advocates of the theory that Śiva is originally a Dravidian god and he gradually found his way into the Aryan pantheon. It is held that the proto-

Indian god kueya, represented by wild animals like tigers elephants and others, became the dreaded and cruel god Rudra-Śiva of later times.

D. Chattopadhyaya gives his view as follows—The God Śiva combines in himself elements of the Vedic and Indus Valley cultures. Rudra-Śiva appears to be a Vedic god and in the course of development of the cult it has absorbed evidently many of the peculiarities of the Dravidian and Indus Valley civilizations.

According to Keith also, it must be admitted that when we come to make definite attempts to prove Dravidian influence on the Vedic religion or philosophy, we are in the region of conjecture. We may, of course, accept such possibilities if we like, but in doing so we cease to be judicial and arrive merely at subjective judgements which have no lasting value.'

On the contrary, Father Heas seems to support the view of Marshall as he sees Śiva with a full-fledged mythology during the Indus Valley period. Thus, with such contradictory opinions, nothing can be asserted with absolute certainty in this regard. There is at least no doubt that the scattered evidences, when taken together, point strongly in favour of an embryonic stage of the Śiva worship among the Indus people. This conclusion may be supported in the light of various statements of scholars regarding the influence of Indus Valley or Dravidian religion on the Vedic religion. According to Radhakrishnan, 'the vedic religion absorbed, embodied and preserved the types and rituals of other cults. Instead of destroying them it adopted them to its own requirement. It took so much from the social life of the Dravidians and other native inhabitants of India, that it is very difficult to disentangle the original Aryan elements from the outer.

The Dravidian influence on the Vedic civilization is admitted by M. Silvain Levi and Keith. It was natural for the Aryans who conquered the Dravidians to give some consideration to the latter's religion. It was necessary for the Aryans to please their subjects. So the Aryans did not compel them to give up their own gods, but adopted the policy of bringing the people professing their religion into the fold of Hinduism. Thus, the great mass of the Dravidian deities, rites, and superstitions have become a part of the so called Hinduism as seen in the Naga worship, concept of Yoga, etc. It seems possible that the Aryans tried to adopt the God of the seal, who might have been the Great God of the Dravidians in the form of Rudra who became Śiva later on in the Hindu mythology. The complex picture of the Śiva of the Vedic and post-Vedic literature represents the final stage of the evolution and conflation of forms and motifs, the Aryans and non-Aryans, and not a transference of a non-Aryan deity into the Aryan cult.

It seems that even the Dravidians themselves had evolved the idea of a Śiva-like god from the contemporary cultures, where such a god had long been worshipped. Historically, however, a definite cultural relationship of the Dravidians with the contemporary West cannot be established because of paucity of evidence.

It is generally believed that the incoming Aryans had destroyed the Indus culture. But some of the vanquished remained among these Aryan invaders, still following their own practices, and it is natural that in course of time and Aryans absorbed some of their practices and developed a composite culture.

16

The Śivañāna Cittiyār

Next to the *Śivañānapōtam* in importance and authority as far as Tamil Śaivism is concerned is the work of Arulnanti entitled *Śivañāna Cittiyār*, composed about A.D. 1253 at the command of his Guru, Meykaṇṭa Tēvar, in order to expound the doctrine contained in the *Śivañānapōtam*. Arulnanti's knowledge of the Hindu Scriptures, especially of the Śaivāgamas was so profound that he was honoured with the title of Sakalāgamapaṇḍita (learned in all the āgamas).

The *Śivañāna Cittiyār* is divided into two large sections: *parapakkaṁ* and *Cupakkaṁ*; the former exposes and refutes the arguments of the religious philosophies which are alien to the *Śaiva Siddhānta* while the latter part is a detailed commentary in 328 verses on the sūtras of the *Śivañānapōtam*. Written in excellent style and with depth of thought, the *Cittiyār* ranks very high among the *Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras* both as a solid piece of the *Śaiva* theology and as a work of great literary merit.

Of the eight commentaries of the *Cittiyār*, the one by Śivañāna Yogin is the most valuable and authoritative. Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar's commentary follows closely Śivañānayogin's, without much originality. I have made use of these two commentaries for the exposition of the *Cittiyār*. J.M. Nallaswāmi Pillai produced a good English translation of the *Cittiyār* as early as 1913. Dr. V.A. Devasenapati's thesis, *Śaiva Siddhānta*, is a general work containing the philosophy as expounded in the *Śivañāna cittiyār* and six of its commentaries.

The *Cittiyār* being a commentary on the *Śivañānapōtam*, I have deemed it better to follow the arrangement of the previous chapter on the *Śivañānapōtam* and to avoid repeating in Arulnanti's words what has already been said with respect to Meykaṇṭa's doctrine itself?

Somanātha

Let us now turn to a consideration of the historical evidence about Pāṅkuriki Somanātha. Unfortunately, our information is limited, and even his birthdate is in doubt. Three practices of Telugu poets frequently help in dating books and their authors: poets

often dedicated their works to a ruling king or to a wellknown person about whom there is corroborative literary and inscriptional evidence; they also often mentioned the names of their poets whom they respected; and sometimes poets gave their own family history, including caste, lineage (gotra), names of their parents, and other details.

Somanātha did not follow any of these practices. As we have seen, his work was not sponsored by a ruling king, and he did not mention the names of either ancient or contemporary poets. The people he mentions were devotees of the Virāśaiva cult, about whom no reliable information is available. As a result, there is no definite evidence to establish either the period of his life or the date of his composition of the BP. The only fact that can be stated with certainty is that this text was composed after Basaveśvara achieved prominence in Karnataka as the leader of the Virāśaiva cult. It is generally agreed that Basaveśvara lives during the twelfth century, circa A.D. 1106-1167.

Telugu scholars have debated among themselves the date of Somanātha. Their arguments may be broadly divided into two major schools. One, led by Mallampalli Somaschara Sarma and Nelaturi Venkata Ramanayya, holds that Somanātha's literary career spans the period 1280-1340. This would make him a contemporary of the Kākatiya king Pratāpa Rudra II. The second school, led by Bandaru Tammayya, holds that Somanātha was born in 1160 and died in 1230, which makes him a contemporary of the Kākatiya king Rudradeva, also known as Pratāpa Rudra I.

The evidence on which both schools rest their arguments is derived from Somanātha's works, works of Telugu and Kannada poets who mentioned Somanātha, and Telugu and Kannada inscriptional materials.

Tammayya's arguments are based mainly on the following three pieces of information from Somanātha's works. First, in the BP, Somanātha states that among the assembly of *bhaktas* who instructed him to compose the story of Basava, there was a Karasthali Somanāthayya, who "was born from the grace of Paṇḍitārādhyā." Tammayya interprets this phrase as referring to the initiation ritual, and it would indicate, therefore, that Paṇḍitārādhyā performed the initiation ritual for Somanāthayya. Legend has it that Paṇḍitārādhyā was the leader of the Virāśaiva movement in the Telugu area and that he was a contemporary of Basaveśvara. Then Somanātha, who was a contemporary of Somanāthayya, either was a younger contemporary of Paṇḍitārādhyā or was born a few years after that Guru's death. Second, in the PC, a work believed to be one of his last works, Somanātha mentions that he was the disciple of Bēlīdeva Vemaṇārādhyā's grandson. (II: 550-552). Bēlīdeva Vemaṇārādhyā is identified in the "Dikṣāprakaraṇa," the first chapter of the PC, as the one who narrated the story of Basava to Paṇḍitārādhyā (I: 13-14).

This would also place Somanātha two generations later than Paṇḍitārādhyā, in the same general period as was indicated earlier. Third, Somanātha concludes the PC with the mention of Paṇḍitārādhyā's grandsons (II: 549-52). Since he mentions them, he must have lived either during or after their time. Tammayya argues that the wording of the passage in which Paṇḍitārādhyā's grandsons' names are mentioned suggests that Somanātha was their contemporary. This information constitutes enough internal

evidence for Tammayya to conclude that Somanātha was born either a few years before or just after the death of Paṇḍitārādhya. In corroboration, Tammayya gives the following external evidence. the Kannada poet Somarāja, in his *Udbhaṭakāvya*, praises a "Some, who is like a garden of the divine trees, which are the songs of praise about Basava." Somarāja gave the date of composition of his work in a verse, and according to one interpretation, it is A.D. 1222.

If this is accepted as authentic, then the Soma referred to in the verse could not have been anyone other than Somanātha, since there was no other poet who wrote about Basava at that time. This would indicate that by A.D. 1222 Somanātha was famous as a poet, and especially as one who composed a number of hymns on Basava, and that the BP could have been one of these hymns. Assuming that Somanātha must have been a mature scholar to have acquired such fame, Tammayya places Somanātha's birth around A.D. 1190.

The historians Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma and Nelaturi Venkata Ramanayya suggest that the BP was composed around A.D. 1290. They use the same sources as Tammayya, but interpret them differently. They do not agree with Tammayya's reading that Paṇḍitārādhya performed the initiation ritual for Karasthali Somanāthayya. They interpret the phrase "was born from the grace of Paṇḍitārādhya" as a divine blessing, which could happen at any time. They also disagree with the text of the verse from Somarāja's *Udbhaṭakāvya* given by Tammayya. There is a variant of the text, which would place the poem in A.D. 1522. They also present an inscription dated A.D. 1290 concerning Reṇḍrevula Mallināthayya and Docayadevi, and consider these two names close enough to Rēṇṭāla Mallinātha and Docamāmba, who are mentioned in the BP as contemporaries of the author, to be the same persons. This inscription is taken as evidence that Somanātha composed the BP around A.D. 1290.

Cilukuri Narayana Rao says that the BP was composed around A.D. 1267. His conclusion is based on two names: Viśveśācārya and Viśveśvarācārya. These names appear in several inscriptions dated from A.D. 1242 to 1267. C. Narayana Rao identifies these names with Karasthali Viśvanāthayya, the person who is mentioned in the BP as Somanātha's literary mentor.

The evidence presented by the scholars of both schools is flawed by questionable readings, impressionistic identifications, and weak logic. Hard evidence enabling anyone to argue in favour of one date or the other is not available. In its absence, one has to look for circumstantial evidence. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there must have been a sharp division between non-Brahminic Śaiva poets and Brahminic poets. We can infer this from the statements of Tikkanna (ca. A.D. 1210-90), the author of the Telugu version of the *Mahābhārata*. He was a Brahminic poet, unmistakably supporting the varṇa hierarchy and Vedic superiority. Yet Tikkanna, as we have seen, called himself *ubhayakavimitra*, "friend of both schools of poets." He dedicated his *Mahābhārata* to the composite deity Hariharanātha, the deity with the form of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. Such a compromise presupposes a strong Śaiva tradition in poetry. In all probability, Somanātha was the poet who led that Śaiva literary tradition with which Tikkanna had to contend.

If this was the case, Somanātha either would have been a contemporary of Tikkanna or would have preceded him. In either case, Somanātha, major work cannot have been composed later than A.D. 1290. In the absence of better evidence, then, the only statement that can be made is that Somanātha must have lived between A.D. 1200 and 1300.

Somanātha's Birthplace: It is customary in both Andhra and Karnataka to use the name of a village, often an ancestral village, as the family name of a person. Somanātha's birthplace has sometimes been identified as Pālakurti, a village in the Janagama Taluk of Nalgonda District, now in Andhra Pradesh. The name Pālakurti is close enough to Somanātha's family name, Pāḷkuriki, to suggest that there may have been a connection between them. By contrast, Culukuri Narayana Rao has suggested that Somanātha belonged to Hāḷkurki in the Tumkur Taluk of Karnataka. Since the initial of old Kannada was changed to h in modern Kannada, it is phonetically possible that Pālakurti could have changed into Hāḷakurki. Other than the similarity of names, however, there is no evidence to establish any of these villages as Somanātha's birthplace. Somanātha himself states in the BP and the PC that he composed both books in the Śrīśailam area, an area where he apparently lived for a long time. Later Śaiva tradition associates Somanātha's death with Kalikemu, a village in Karnataka.

Somanātha's Caste: Equally uncertain is the caste to which Somanātha belonged. Unlike authors of most traditional, Brahminical religious and literary works, Somanātha did not mention his caste. All that he indicated in the BP, as in other places, was that he belonged to Iśvarakula, the caste of Śiva. He regarded Śiva and Pārvatī as his father and mother. In accordance with the conventions of the Virāśaiva religion, he considered himself to have been born out of his Guru's palm. He claimed that his *gotra* (lineage) was *bhakti gotra*, the lineage of devotion. He did, however, give the names of his human parents: Viṣṇurāmaḍeva, his father, and Śrīyādevī, his mother. He called them his "foster parents." The names are Vaiṣṇava names, derived from Viṣṇu and Śrī (Lakṣmī), which suggests that his parents did not belong to the Virāśaiva cult. Virāśaivas refuse even to utter the name of any deity other than Śiva. This would indicate that Somanātha's Virāśaivism was probably the result of his own conversion. In any case, the names of his parents do not give any indication of their caste.

C. Narayana Rao, Prabhakara Sastri, Somasekhara Sarma, and Venkata Rao, all of whom are Brahmins, have argued that Somanātha was a Brahmin. They have insisted that the scholarship of vedic, purāṇic, and śāstra texts Somanātha exhibited in his various works is conclusive proof of his Brahminic background. They have contended that Vedic lore could not have been available to any person who was not himself born into a Brahmin caste. This argument, however, is not supported by any evidence. The Virāśaiva Jaṅgamas, who were recruited from many different castes, competed with brahmin scholars for social and religious respectability. They pursued vedic and textual learning so as to dispute with the brahmin scholars of the time. The fact that Somanātha was learned in Vedic, Purāṇic, and Śāstra texts does not in itself prove that he was a brahmin.

A statement with caste connotations does, however, appear in the PC. Somanātha

describes his listener, Sūranāmātya, as his beloved *maradi*. This kinship term indicates that Suranamatya was either the author's mother's brother's son or the author's father's sister's son. Sūranāmātya is described as a person belonging to the Haritasa *gotra* and the Āpastamba *sūtra*. Both are terms associated with Brahmin lineage.

Yet even this evidence is not conclusive. Kinship terms have been used in Andhra to express personal relationships across caste lines. Fictive family relationships have, for centuries, been traditionally popular. Brahmin Tikkanna called his patron, King Manumasiddhi, by the kinship term *māma*, "uncle," and we know that Manumasiddhi was not a Brahmin. It is entirely possible that a fictive kinship relationship existed between Somanātha and Sūranāmātya, despite differences in caste.

Claims that Somanātha was a Brahmin have a much older history. A hagiographic text called Pāṅkuriki Someśvara Purāṇamu associates him with the family of Bēḷideva Vemaṇārādhyā, who is clearly identified as a Brahmin in the PC. There is even now a brahmin family in the Telangana area that claims that Somanātha was their ancestor and left their caste and became a jaṅgama. I believe that these stories should be read as part of the Brahminization of the BP.

Bandaru Tammayya, who is a Virāśaiva scholar from a non-Brahmin Jaṅgam caste, argued that Somanātha was a non-Brahmin of the Jaṅgam caste. Jaṅgams are a literate caste who function as the priests of the Virāśaiva non-Brahmins in present-day Andhra Pradesh. Very much like the Brahmins, who composed religious texts, read the scriptures, and functioned as traditional scholars, jaṅgams have also performed scholarly and religious functions for the non-Brahmin Virāśaivas. A number of people from this caste are scholars, poets, and singers.

Tammayya's arguments have not gained much acceptance. Prabhakara Sastri has pointed out that in early medieval Andhra there was no such caste as Jaṅgam. At that time, Jaṅgama was the name applied to an individual ascetic of the Virāśaiva cult; only later did a caste called Jaṅgam arise.

The strong anti-Brahmin attitude of the BP itself presents an effective argument in favour of the non-Brahmin origins of Somanātha. The text appears to express a deep animosity against Brahmins as such. In a number of places, Somanātha describes Brahmins as *trāṭimālalu*, "untouchables with thread on their shoulders"; *Brāhmaṇagardhabambulu*, "Brahmin donkeys who carry the weight of the Vedas"; and *Karmacandādāluru*, "untouchables who have Karma." A long story in the seventh chapter ridicules Brahmins for their attempts to purify ritually and elevate a woman of the tanner caste to Brahmin status. The Brahmins of this story have the untouchable woman bathe in milk that has been poured into the image of a golden cow. After the ritual bath, each Brahmin takes a part of the cow. In this story, Brahmins are not only described with utter contempt, but even their names are distorted in further attempts at ridicule. In his description of the shares of the golden cow, Somanātha uses words related to bovine anatomy drawn from the vocabulary of beef-eating castes. The literary images used in the narration depict Brahmins as avaricious and unscrupulous, and even suggest that they eat beef. The expression of hatred against Brahmins generated by powerful passages like

this has no comparison in any other Śaiva text in Telugu. Moreover, the abusive language, vitriolic descriptions, and contemptuous utterances against Brahmins that are found throughout the BP show that Somanātha's opposition to them is not merely theological.

Prabhakara Sastri argues that the anti-Brahminic attitude of the BP should not be attributed to the poet. Such attitudes are demanded by the subject of his work—Basaveśvara. It is he who is antibrahminic. Sastri claims that in his PC, Somanātha does not abuse Brahmins. Indeed, Sastri insists that Somanātha respects Brahmins in the PC, because the subject of that work—the life of Paṇḍtārādhyā—is not antibrahminic.

But shifting the blame of Somanātha's Brahmin-hatred to Basavesvara does not work. Although Basaveśvara was ideologically opposed to Brahminism, his *vacana*s (religious lyrics) do not have any of the harsh, abusive, and violent language that Somanātha uses in the BP. Basaveśvara's lyrics evoke, rather, a mood of gentleness and compassion. And it is also not correct to say that Somanātha's PC does not abuse Brahmins. There are, indeed, places in that work where Brahmins are described respectfully—but only Virāśaiva Brahmins. Other Brahmins are reviled with the same abusive tone as in BP: "donkeys who carry the weight of the Vedas." The insults to Brahmins in the BP differ from those in the PC only in degree, not in substance. By the time he wrote the PC, Somanātha was older and far more respected in his mission to propagate Virāśaivism; when he wrote the BP, he was a young, fiery-eyed revolutionary. In the light of such vehement and unrestrained abuse directed toward Brahmins, it is difficult to imagine Somanātha as a Brahmin.

Although there is no evidence regarding his caste, there is room for speculation. Elaborating his ideas on how he would incorporate vedic quotations in the *dvipada* meter, Somanātha declares in the PC: "I will compose Telugu words with proper combinations tightly worked in meter around the vedic utterances, so that they appear like precious stones set in gold." Later in the same passage he explains: "When you set a precious stone in a ring, you cannot let the gold press on it, even slightly. I will not distort the syllabic order of a vedic utterance, because I have to fit it in the metrical order of a *dvipada*."

Both images come from a goldsmith's work, and are rare in Telugu literature. To my knowledge, no Brahminic poet ever used images from the Goldsmith's craft. Images of precious stones set in gold are plenty, but they refer to the finished ornament, not to the process of its production. Goldsmiths (*kamsālīs*) of Andhra, as we have seen, led a strong opposition to Brahmins during the medieval period. Moreover, they were a highly literate caste. We may speculate, then, that Somanātha might himself have been a *Kamsālī*. Literary images do not constitute enough evidence to prove Somanātha's caste. But they can suggest leads for further investigation in this direction. In conclusion, it seems clear that most Telugu scholars have tended to accept too easily the proposition that Somanātha was a Brahmin. This position, resting on very little hard evidence, should be seriously doubted.

Somanātha's Other Works

Somanātha composed a number of works, many of which reveal his wide knowledge of Sanskrit religious texts. In addition to his wellknown works in Telugu, Somanātha also wrote in Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil, and Marathi. He is one of the few

people to write with equal ease in all the languages of the area. A summary of his major works follows.

Anubhavasāramu

Believed to be the earliest of Somanātha's compositions, and written in Sanskrit meters, this work appears to be conventional in its literary form. It consists of 242 verses and describes the six sacred phases (*ṣaṣṭhala*) of the Virāśaiva religion. There is no mention of Basava's name in this text, although Paṇḍitārādhyā is praised. For that reason, scholars think this work was written before Somanātha came to know about Basava.

Caturvedaśāramu

This book of about four hundred verses presents the essentials of Virāśaiva religious philosophy. It contends that Virāśaivism is the true essence of the four Vedas. Each verse in the book ends with the refrain "Basavaliṅga."

Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritra

This massive work in *dvipada* meter relates to the hagiography of Paṇḍitārādhyā. He is traditionally associated with Śivalīka Maṇḍanapaṇḍita and Śrīpatipaṇḍita. The three Paṇḍitas were Brahmins and leaders of a Śaiva cult that has been supposed to be different, and pro-Brahminic. The PC itself, however, does not support that contention. In its philosophy and in its attitude toward Brahmins, the PC does not differ from BP. It is composed of hagiographies of bhaktas, together with large sections of theological disputation against Jainism, Buddhism, and Brahminism. Some of the Stories of Śaiva saints found in BP are repeated in this work.

A legend in the PC states that Paṇḍitārādhyā travelled to Śrīsaṅgam in order to meet Basava. When he arrived there, he was informed that Basava had died two days before. Paṇḍitārādhyā, who was by then a very old man, died shortly thereafter. This legend has led scholars to believe that Paṇḍitārādhyā was a contemporary of Basava.

Paṇḍitārādhyā is credited with composing a number of texts in Telugu, Kannada, and Sanskrit. Except for Śivatattvasāramu, none of these texts is extant.

Vṛṣādhipa Śatakamu

This text comprises 108 verses. Each verse ends with the vocative refrain, "Basavā, Basavā, Basavā, Vṛṣādhipā." Śataka (from *śata*, "one hundred") is a popular genre in Telugu literature. It has one hundred verses (or, usually, 108 because that is an auspicious number), each ending with a *makuta*, "refrain."

Paṇḍitārādhyā is credited with having composed the first *śataka*. But scholars who exclude his Śivatattvasāramu from the *śataka* category because it has more than four hundred verses without a refrain consider Somanātha to be the first *śataka* writer in Telugu.

The Vṛṣādhipa Śatakamu is a passionate prayer to Basava, which influenced later śataka writers in Telugu in their form of versification. Its style is characterized by strong rhythms and alliterations. It refers to a number of wellknown Śaiva stories, and includes instructions to the *bhaktas*. An interesting feature of this work is that it contains several verses composed in Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, and Marathi, in addition to Telugu.

Somanātha also wrote verses in *maṇipravāla*, a style that mixes Sanskrit and Telugu forms. This is a characteristically Viraśaiva style, which the Brahminic poets in Andhra rejected as altogether unacceptable.

In addition to the above works, Somanātha composed a number of hymns. He also wrote a number of works in Kannada and Sanskrit. His Kannada works include *Sadgururagaḍa* and *Cēnnabasavaragaḍa*. Among his Sanskrit works are mentioned the *Rudrabhāṣya*, now lost, and the *Somanāthabhāṣya*, a work that presents the philosophy of Viraśaivism.

Translation

The C.P. Brown manuscripts, preserved in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, contain several texts of the BP. Of these manuscripts, No. 970 is the version that the collector and sponsor, C.P. Brown, describes as containing "various readings found in numerous manuscripts." This MS also has a summary of the BP in both Telugu and English. The English summary is in Brown's handwriting. An edition of Somanātha's BP was printed in 1896 by the Kandukuri family of Brahmin Śaivas. Relying on the Brown manuscripts and the Kandukuri edition, Veturi Prabhakara Sastrī published another edition in 1926. Later, in 1952, Bandaru Tammayya published another edition of the BP. None of these editions can be called critical, since, at best, these scholars simply collated the available variations of the text and arbitrarily choose one of the variants for the body of their own edition, putting the remainder in the footnotes. No information about the various recensions was given.

17

Soul and Śiva

Souls eternally exist, like Śiva himself (7.3), and are called *satasat*, because they are neither purely *sat*, which is God, nor purely *asat*, which is matter, but participate in both (7.2). As *satasat* every soul is united to both *sat* and *asat*, and while it is in union with each of these, it identifies itself with it so thoroughly as to become one with it (7.3). The soul's all-pervasiveness consists to becoming one with the thing in which it dwells (7.20). It is called *paśu* because its eternal intelligence and power of action is bound and concealed by fetters (*pāśa*) (4.20). In this context it is important to know how the Siddhāntin understands the three categories of being: *pati*, *paśu*, and *pāśa*. According to Śivāgra Yogin (a commentator on the *Cittiyār*), *Pati* stands for *paśupati* meaning 'Lord of souls' (*Paśunāṁ pati paśupati*). The soul is called *paśu* since it is eternally conjoined with *anava* (*Paśu paśutva samyogāt*). *Pāśa* is that by which the pervasive intelligence of the soul is bound and limited. *Pāśa* includes *ānava*, *karma*, and *māyā* (*bandhanāt pāśam ucyate*).

The soul's intelligence, will, and power, obscured by *ānava*, emerge dimly to the conscious level when the soul is conjoined with the products of *māyā* (4.21). The causal or subtle states of the soul are three: *kevala*, *sakala*, and *śuddha*. Let us consider the matter more deeply. In the *kevala* condition the soul is formless, not united with *kala* and other *tattvas*, not confined to the *guṇas*, markless, non-intelligent, actionless, itself not an agent of any action, unable to enjoy the fruits of *karma*, imperishable, omnipresent, and immersed in *ānava* (4.38). The *sakala* state is attributed to the soul in its condition of embodiment, clothed with various organs and internal and external senses; the soul desiring to experience sense-objects undergoes as a result of this experience the chain of rebirths in accordance with its *karma* (4.39). Lastly, in the *śuddha* state the soul, in perfect equanimity with regard to good and evil (*iru vinai oppu*), becomes previous to the descent of grace and obtains the grace of true wisdom from the Guru; consequently, adopting the path of *bhakti* in the form of true wisdom, it frees itself from the triple impurity and unites itself to the sacred feet of Śiva, thanks to his grace (4.40).

As the senses, helped to know their objects by the soul, do not know the soul itself, so also the soul, aided to know its objects by God, does not know him. Wisdom-giving God alone can know all and make souls know him as well (*ari tarum civanē ellām arintu arivittu nirpan*) (5.1). One might object in that case that if God were to concur in human knowledge

every one would have the same equal knowledge, and that, on the other hand, inequality in men's knowledge could well be explained by the proportionate cause of *karma* (*kanmatu alavinukku*) without postulating the need of God's help. Arulnanti meets this objection by saying that God's help is needed because the unintelligent *arma* cannot direct the soul's knowledge through its vicissitudes of rebirth (5.2). Even to know itself the self needs the help of God, because it knows only through the senses, forgets what it has already known, and is in all its knowledge made to know by God: otherwise it would be of the same nature as God. Only God knows himself by himself (*tānē arinṭiṭum arivan*) (5.3).

The Siddhāntin attributes three kinds of knowledge (*jñāna*) to the soul: *pācañānam*, *pacuiñānam*, and *patiñānam* (4.2). *Pācañānam* is the kind of knowledge in which senses and organs through whose instrumentality the soul knows are identified with sense-objects. The soul considers the experience of empirical reality as the true one and takes the senses for the agent itself instead of as instruments. *Pacuiñānam*, on the other hand, consists in recognising the senses as instruments of the soul distinct from the true agent, viz., the soul itself, and realising the true nature of the soul itself. Finally, *patiñānam* is the realisation of the Supreme Being in love and bliss. While every knowledge is graciously imparted to souls by God, the supreme knowledge is the unmediated gift of God, whereas, the lower knowledge is the gift of God mediated by organs of perception, sensations, products of *māyai*, logic, and philosophy because, as we have seen, the soul in its *kevala* condition is non-intelligent and shapeless (5.4).

The all-knowing God imparts knowledge in such a way that he becomes the soul of souls (*uyirkk eḷlām uyirumāy*) and yet wholly differs (*vērāy*) from them (5.5). His loving presence (*canniti*) in the world, untainted and unaffected by the *māyai* and *karma* of souls, much less by *ānavani*, causes all the activity of created beings; in his immanence again embodied souls undergo development and are endowed with divine wisdom (5.6). His all-embracing presence is the more effective as he bestows that grace which leads the soul through the spiritual ways of *bhakti* to final liberation and union with him (5.8).

God is Love : The form of God is love (*uruṭ-aruḷ*); his attributes and knowledge are all love (*kaṇaikalōṭum unaruṭ aruḷ*); all his manifestations are love (1.47). The technical expression employed for 'love' in these passages is *aruḷ*, which literally means 'grace' or 'favour'. But grace (*aruḷ*) also means love, insofar as grace is a sign of the predilection of the lover for the beloved. More so, indeed, because love of a superior being combined with mercy towards his suffering subordinates is very aptly expressed by *aruḷ* in Tamil. Hence *aruḷ* can be rendered in English not only as grace but also as love that shows favour and mercy. Truly, then, can we say that the metaphysical and theological essence of God is Love, a formulation closely resembling the New Testament definition of God as *Caritas* (Agape). For love, according to the Siddhāntin, is the foundation of God's attributes both within himself and in relation to the world. As a matter of fact, it is because in his inmost essence God is Love that whatever perfection he possesses is a form of love, and that whatever action he performs with respect to souls is a form of grace and springs from his loving care for his creatures (*aruḷ uru uyirkk enrē ākkinan*) (*ibid.*). Such a sublime conception of God is hardly met with in any other religion but Christianity.

God is Infinite Light, Love, and Intelligence (*aḷavil cōtiy aruṇ ṇāna mūrti*). He fills all intelligences with his love (*ariviniḷ aruḷan manni*). The supreme love desires the welfare of all living beings (*iccai uyirk aruḷ nēcamākum*) (1.63). God's only wish is to show love to souls and to do them good (2.27). The supreme lover graciously enters the heart of his *bhaktas* (*uḷlattē pukuntu*) and unites them to him in love (9.1). Śiva is said to penetrate the soul so intimately (*uḷḷe vantu...pukuntituvam*) that he fills it with boundless love (*poruppariya pēr anpai aruḷi*) and communicates the rarest joy (*erikum ilāp pōkattaip purintu*) (9.6).

Love of God as a means of Reaching God : That Arulnanti makes *bhakti* the leitmotif of all spiritual striving to reach God is unmistakably clear from his repeated affirmations. Śiva's feet will remove the crookedness of impurity from those who worship him with love (*anpu*) that melts (*uruku*) Their hearts, with humility and knowledge. Those who love God (*paramanaip patti paṇṇum tonṭar*) attain the goal of Śiva (*civakati*). In one of the exquisite invocatory verses he prays movingly: 'Let my unchanging great love grow towards him (God)' (*taḷarāta pēr anpu vaḷarā nirpāṇi*).

Closely following Meykaṇṭa, Arulnanti proposes four stages of spiritual development which are wellknown throughout the Śaiva-Siddhānta literature : *caryā*, *kriyā*, *yoga*, and *jīḍāna*. While the first three are preparatory, the last alone leads straight to the final liberation and attainment of Śiva's feet (8.11). The first stage (named also *tāta neri*) consists of external worship like washing and cleaning God's temples, lighting the sacred lamp, looking after flower-gardens useful for worship; and also of internal worship like singing the divine praises and obeying the commands of Śiva-*bhaktas* with due reverence after humbly receiving their orders (8.19). The *bhakti* shown at this stage is like that of a servant to his master, and its fruit is the attainment of the sphere of God (*civa lōkam*). The second stage (known also as *puttira neri*) recommends the offering of fresh and fragrant flowers, incense, lamp, food, etc.; the enthronement of God's symbol, *linga*; and the invocation of God's presence therein as all-intelligence and light. The core of this stage is again *bhakti*, but as that of a son to his parents. For here the worship must be shown in pure love (*cutta patti*) and the divine praises are to be uttered with love (*parivinōḷum paravip pōrri*). The fruit of such loving devotion is the realisation of God's presence (8.20).

In the third stage of *bhakti*, often compared to that between friends (*tōla neri*), the Śivayogin, in full control of his senses and breath, fixes his mind on the object of worship, namely, God, and passes into the region of *candramandala*, where he dwells fixedly on the supreme light (*mūluc cōti ninaint iruttal*). Such a loving meditation on God as light and intelligence cleanses the soul of the *bhakta* from all impurity and enables him to attain the form of Śiva (*civan taṇ uruvattaip peruvār*) (8.21). In the last stage of *bhakti*, comparable to that of lovers (known as *nanneri*), after discarding the study of the Vedas, Āgamas, Purāṇas, and the various religions as pertaining to the lower stage, the *bhakta* realises the truth of the three realities, *pāś*, *paśu*, and *pati*, holds on to God as the Supreme Being and Love, realises the non-difference of knower, known, and knowing (*ṇāna nēyamoṭu ṇātiruvum nāḷāvāṇṇam*), and becomes united with God (*civan uḷāṇām*) (8.22).

This division should not be understood as one of exclusive, watertight, compartments. *Bhakti*, as I have said before, is essential to all the four stages, for without love these

lose all their meaning and become hypocritical. *jñāna* is also implied in all the four stages, because otherwise they would become unintelligible and blind practices. Therefore, I am strongly inclined to think that any proper explanation of the relation between *bhakti* and *jñāna* implied in the four stages forces a distinction between two kinds of *jñāna* and *bhakti*: one lower and the other higher. In the first three stages there is question of lower knowledge, namely knowledge of the *Śruti* and the *Śāstras*, all amounting to what is called *pācañānam* and *pacuñānam* in gradation; and of lower *bhakti*, namely *bhakti* mixed with self-love and self-seeking.

The fourth stage consists of the supreme knowledge, *patiñānam*, namely, intuitive realisation of the nature of God; of the supreme love, namely total participation in and dedication to God as Love. The fallacy, too, of contrasting *jñāna* and *bhakti* has to be avoided, because mutual knowledge and love should go together and colour all the relations between master and servant, parents and children, between friends, and between lovers; otherwise these relations become superficial. Real love always supposes mutual knowledge and recognition. The more intimately friends know each other, recognising goodness and love, the more intense becomes their love. The highest knowledge is to realise how the very nature of God is love that surpasses of human love, even the love of one's self.

18

Spanda: Absolute Consciousness

We have seen how the dynamic (spanda) character of absolute consciousness is its freedom to assume any form at will through the active diversification of awareness (vimarsā) in time and space, when it is directed at, and assumes the form of, the object of awareness. The motion of absolute consciousness is a creative movement, a transition from the uncreated state of Being to the created state of Becoming. In this sense Being is in a state of perpetual Becoming (satatodita); it constantly phenomenalisises into finite expression. The shining of inner Being is the manifestation of outer Becoming and, as such, is the constantly self-renewing source of its own appearing as Becoming. Thus, the universal character (sāmānya) of Being is expressed in the radiant form (sphurattā) of each phenomenon. Rightly understood, Being and Becoming are the inner and outer faces of universal consciousness which becomes spontaneously manifest, through its inherent power, as this polarity. The inner face (antarmukha) of consciousness is the pure subject which, devoid of all objective content, abides beyond the realms of time and space. The Stanzas on Vibration declare: "That inner being is the abode of omniscience and every other divine attribute. It can never cease to exist because nothing else can be perceived outside it"

The outer face of consciousness represents the diversity and continuous change of the manifest universe—the object. While the outer appears to be a distinct reality set apart from the inner, the inner contains the totality of the outer which appear within it without dividing its nature: "Internality", writes Utpaladeva, "is a state of oneness with the subject, while externality is the state of separation from it." Again: Having made itself manifest consciousness abides as both the inner subject and outer object. It shines there within itself in such a way that it appears to be illumining some other reality.

The emergence of a particular object within the field of awareness is accompanied by a mental representation through which the subject identifies the object and distinguishes it from others. Thus, the manner in which the objective universe is experienced is governed by the same principles as those upon which thought is based. Phenomena follow one another linked in a causal chain, much as one thought leads to the next in a chain of associations (prapañca). This is not only true of individual objects but applies equally to individual perceivers. The manifestation of the universe and the emergence of

Becoming, consisting of both individual objects and objects, from the inner state of pure Being is equivalent to the emergence of thought in universal consciousness. Although introverted and inherently free of all dichotomising mental activity, consciousness, through its inner vibration (*spanda*), conceives the world-thought (*viśvavikalpa*).

As it thinks, it turns away from its pure 'I-ness' (*ahantā*) to plunge into its opposite—'thisness' (*idantā*), which is the essence of all empirically definable distinctions (*bhedavyavahāra*). Thus the movement from inner to outer engenders a split within consciousness between subject and object that gives rise to the perception of 'relative distinctions. This corresponds to the loss of a direct, thought-free intuition of the essential unity between inner and outer. In the supreme state—that is the 'inner' reality of consciousness—there is no difference between 'inner' and 'outer'. Everything is experienced as part of one, undivided compact mass of consciousness (*saṃvidghana*). The pure Being (*sattā*) of universal consciousness assumes the form of Becoming and is involved in time and space only when a contrast appears within it between the perceiver and the perceived:

It is Lord Śiva alone Who, by virtue of His freedom, playfully gives rise to the subject and the object, the enjoyer and the enjoyed, which are the basis of every activity in this world of duality.

When the power of awareness gives rise to a sense of separation between subject and object with all the consequent limitations it imposes upon itself, it is called 'Māyā'. As Māyā, it veils consciousness and obscures the individual subject's awareness of its essential unity."—While non-dualist Vedānta maintains that Māyā is an undefinable principle that gives rise to the cosmic illusion of multiplicity falsely superimposed on the undivided unity of the absolute, according to Kashmiri Śaivism, Māyā is the power of the absolute to appear in diverse forms. The separation between subject and object is the product of a creative act and not of an illusion:

The variety of subject and objects with their characteristic differences is made manifest by the creative power of the Lord, Who knows them.

The creative freedom (*svātantrya*) of the absolute and its deluding power of Māyā are identical. When the power of consciousness is recognised to be the spontaneous expression of the absolute made manifest ■ the variety of forms it assumes without compromising its essential unity, it is experienced as the pure vibration (*spanda*) of its freedom. If, however, the cosmic outpouring (*viśvollāsa*) of consciousness is felt to consist of diverse and conflicting elements, the same power is called Māyā. The field of operation of the freedom of the absolute is the kingdom of universal consciousness, while that of its power of Māyā is the world of transmigratory existence. The difference between them is based on the degree of insight we have into the nature of reality. Due to this power the object appears to be projected outside the subject even though it is always manifest

within it and is the inner reality of the object. The creation of diversity is accordingly defined as 'the projection (kṣepa) of one's own nature into the Self from the Self.' Abhinava explains:

Creation is to make that which shines within, externally manifest while it still preserves its original internal nature. Therefore, the object must be made manifest by that in relation to which it is said to be internal and which makes the internal externally manifest.

Conversely, the moment-to-moment destruction of the objective content of consciousness occurs by a reversal of the movement from inner to outer. The object, in other words, is never destroyed, but merely withdrawn into the inner reality of the subject. The Spanda teachings agree with the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness only insofar as it applies to outer objectivity. Although perception and every phenomenal occurrence can be analysed into a series of moments (kṣaṇa), daily life cannot entirely be understood in terms of such moment-units. Change is an activity within the absolute which can only be properly understood in terms of conscious action and not as a mechanical process. Each act is part of a single continuous motion which proceeds from the agent—the pure Being of introverted consciousness—to its final completion in the result, which is the object or deed (kārya). The outer reality of Becoming is the effect which emerges from the cause, the inner reality of Being, just as action emerges from the agent. It is a wave of activity which rises out of the infinite potential of the agent. Every event is a part of the greater rhythm of the total, cosmic event. Every object is part of the universal object and every subject shares in the agency of the universal subject. Kṣemarāja writes:

Hence the Lord creates and destroys only the objective aspect of the perceiver, i.e., the body, etc., but not the subjective aspect which is the light of 'I' consciousness because although embodied, the subject is, in reality, one with the Lord. Thus of the two—subject and object—the latter ■ perishable while the former is the freedom of consciousness and immortal. For even when the world is emanated and absorbed the subject does not waver from his true nature. If he were to do so, the emanation and absorption of the world would not be manifest for there would be none to perceive it.

The inner is the domain of Being, where the subject's power of knowledge (jñānaśakti) operates within itself, while the outer is the domain of the subject's power of action (kriyāśakti). Knowledge turns into action and action leads to knowledge. Thus every individual phenomenon has two aspects: its outer form and its inner nature. Its outer form is apparent to us as the manner in which it behaves, its properties and pragmatic efficacy (arthakriyā). This aspect differentiates each individual object from other objects and renders it accessible to conceptual representation (savikalpa). Its inner nature the Kashmiri Śaiva equates with its pure Being as an appearance (ābhāsa) within

universal consciousness at one with pure 'I-ness' and hence inaccessible to conceptual representation (*nirvikalpa*). Thus the movement from Being to Becoming is essentially an act of perception. Perception is the connecting link between the outer manifest form of the object and its inner nature. The movement of awareness from inner to outer is equivalent to a movement from an awareness of the unity of the inner nature of all things to the diversity of their outer forms. The activity of consciousness gives rise to diversity in this sense alone.

Although it would not be wrong to say that the absolute is in a constant state of transformation or is full of vibration—*Spanda*—from another point of view we could say that no change or movement occurs in the absolute at all. Movement (*saṃrambha*) and rest (*viśrānti*) in the absolute presuppose one another. The freedom (*svātantrya*) of consciousness to do what seems, according to reason, to be impossible explains how the absolute can at once be motionless and yet full of activity. Abhinava explains:

By 'vibration' (*spandana*) we mean subtle movement. It is subtle in the sense that, although it moves not, it manifests as motion. The light of consciousness is not at all separate from manifestation yet it appears to be so. Thus, that which is immobile, associated with the variety of manifestation, manifests as movement.

Motion normally implies a movement between two separate points, which entails the existence of at least two distinct entities between which motion can occur. But as all things are equally consciousness there are no two such distinct realities between which motion, as we understand it, can take place. Abhinava explains that *Spanda*—the pulsation of consciousness—is defined as a "subtle movement" (*ksīṇiccalana*) because "if that movement were to entail motion towards another entity, it would not be 'subtle' but merely gross motion; if not, on the other hand, it is not motion at all."

The cosmic process consists of a cyclic series of creations and destructions which follow one another like buckets fixed on a waterwheel. Although change is manifest through this process, and change is the basis of time, the pulsation of the absolute is a movement outside the confines of time. Śiva is eternally engaged in all the phases of the creative act simultaneously and yet performs them one after another. So Utpaladeva sings of Śiva's glory thus:

Salutations to the Lord Who eternally delights in emission (*sr̥ṣṭi*) and is always comfortably seated in persistence (*sthiti*), and is eternally satisfied with the Three Worlds for His food.

Although the creative activity of consciousness is not divided by time or set in space, it is the basis of all sequentially definable spatial and temporal manifestations (*deśākrama* and *kālakramābhāsa*). Action, therefore, is of two kinds. The first is the kind of activity that can be broken down into a series (*krama*) or sequence of actions set in time and space. The second type is the non-successive (*akramika*) action that takes place

within the absolute. It is the source of time and space and hence beyond the spatial and temporal distinctions which characterise all sequences.

"Worldly action", writes Utpaladeva, "can be said to be successive due to the power of time; but the eternal activity of the Highest Lord, like the Highest Lord Himself, cannot."

Reality contemplated from the highest (para) level of consciousness is experienced as a single, unchanging (akrama) whole. At the lower (apara) level we experience this same reality as a sequence (krama) of events—as changing positions in space and a continuous transition from one moment in time to the next. At the intermediate (parāpara) level, reality is experienced at the instant of cosmic manifestation into which it blossoms with the suddenness and energy of a lightning flash. This cosmic expansion (viśvasphāra) occurs in a single, non-sequential flash which transcends both the successive change and the non-successive, simultaneous manifestation of all its phases at once. Kṣemarāja quotes the *Sārasvatsaṃgraha* as saying: "This Self has shone forth but once; it is full of all things and can nowhere be unmanifest."

Abhinava explains:

Moreover, consciousness does not issue forth in succession, as do the seed, sprout, stalk, petals, flowers and fruit, etc. The sprout issues from the seed, and the stalk from the sprout, not the seed. In this case, however, absolute consciousness (saṃvittatva) is manifest here in every circumstance (sarvataḥ) of daily life because it is everywhere full and perfect. Consciousness is said to be the cause of all things because it is everywhere emergent (udīta) as each manifest entity.

A sequence is only intelligible as a series of differing elements. From the point of view of absolute consciousness, events do not occur successively. Succession (krama) depends upon difference, and difference on the existence of a certain manifestation (ābhāsa) and the (simultaneous) non-existence of another. On the other hand, cosmic events cannot be said to occur simultaneously either, because simultaneity of being is only possible between two different entities. In reality, succession and its absence are not objective properties of an entity but only formats of perception. Succession is a function of time which is not to be understood as a self-existent reality but merely as the perception of 'prior' and 'subsequent' based on the recollection of past events in relation to the present or possible future events in the field of awareness. Thus Utpaladeva writes:

Time is in reality nothing but the succession observable in the movement of the sun, etc., and the birth of different flowers in their due season, or the transition from summer to winter.

The transition or movement of awareness from one perception to the next is the

basis of our sense of time passing. It is only possible because we sense separation between individual phenomena, both from each other and from the individual subject. This happens when consciousness freely obscures itself by turning away from its own self-awareness to become extroverted and contracted. In the essentially introverted nature of consciousness there is no time. Time operates within the sphere of objectivity; it cannot divide the inner subjectivity of consciousness. To think that time can divide consciousness is like seeking nourishment from lumps of sugar cut from the sky by a whirling sword. As consciousness is the source and basis of all appearances, it makes time manifest as well and hence cannot be affected by it.

Kṣemarāja insists that all talk of processes occurring within universal consciousness in terms of a sequence of events does not really refer to the actual state of affairs (*vastu*), but serves merely to impart instruction about the nature of consciousness in the only manner in which language permits. The incessant creative activity of the absolute does not involve it in any temporal diversification. The emergence and submergence of each total-event from the body of consciousness does not divide it in any way. Even so, we experience change. Abhinava says:

As there is no succession within consciousness, there is no simultaneity; and as there is no simultaneity, there is no succession either. The extremely pure conscious reality transcends all talk of succession and its absence.

In reality nothing arises and nothing falls away. It is the vibrating power of consciousness which, though free of change, becomes manifest in this or that form and thus appears to be arising and falling away:

All things exist in Śiva just as blue rays reside in the opal; in reality they nowhere come into being nor cease to exist.

Reality presents itself to reason as a paradox: though it is one, yet it is diverse; though changing, it changes not at all. All the concepts we may have of it necessarily fall short of the truth. To know reality we must experience it directly. "Why speak much?" ask the Stanzas on Vibration, "the Yogi will experience it for himself!" When the yogi is plunged in the contemplative absorption of the 'Fourth State' (*turiya*) beyond waking; dreaming and deep sleep, he shares in Śiva's experience, enjoying its vibrant creative power personified as the Goddess, Śiva's consort:

This Goddess of Consciousness, the Fourth State (*turiyā*) consists of the union of emission, preservation and destruction. She emits and withdraws into Herself, each particular phase of emission, etc. Containing all things within Herself She is eternally 'full' and, void of all particulars, 'thin.' She is both as well as neither of the two, abiding eternally as the vibrating radiance of consciousness in a manner free of all succession (*akrama*).

Cosmic creation and destruction is not a mechanical process. The emergence of the universe from consciousness and its submergence back into it are not simply a matter of withdrawing or replacing an object from a locus in space. The world does not come out of the absolute as do walnuts out of a bag. The change from the pre-cosmic to the cosmic state is a transformation from one form of consciousness to another. The transition from one form of consciousness to another marks the creation of a new experience and the destruction of the old. Thus the power of awareness potentially contains within itself every possible experience—every cycle of creation and destruction. It is the inner blissful vibration (*antaḥspanda*) which impels the movement (*vibhrama*) of the universe made manifest as the outer cosmic rhythm (*bahīḥsapanda*) of creation and destruction. Kṣemarāja writes:

The vibrating power of awareness (*spandaśakti*) is the bliss which is the wonder of the one compact mass of 'I' consciousness embracing the endless cycles of creation and destruction. Its true nature is the manifestation of the expansion and contraction of the perceiver and the perceived which represent the entire pure and impure creation.

Universal creation is like the individual creation of the world of waking life when a person wakes from sleep. Conversely, just as when a person sleeps all the activities and ideas of waking life cease and merge back into his self-consciousness, so during cosmic destruction, in the sleep (*nimeṣa*) of consciousness, everything is withdrawn and brought to rest within it. Abhinava prayerfully addresses Śiva with the words:

When Your nature expands, You, I and the entire universe come into being; when it is withdrawn, neither You nor I nor the universe exist. The universe awakes when You awake and is destroyed when You sleep. Thus the entire universe of being and non-being is one with You.

The Stanzas on Vibration explain that the universe comes into being when Śiva, as it were, opens His eyes to see it, and is again destroyed when He closes His eyes to observe His own nature and no longer views the universe. Śiva's power to know the universe is one with His power to create it:

Then, when the Lord desires to discern something within the abode of the Void, the universe spontaneously unfolds and is established within consciousness and the Lord's unfolding power of knowledge perceives it.

In this way, consciousness expands to assume the form of the universe by withdrawing back into itself. In other words, by veiling His undivided nature, Śiva appears as the diverse play of multiplicity. Conversely, when Śiva reveals His own nature and withdraws the veil which contracts consciousness, the universe is destroyed:

The Supreme Lord is the light of the absolute (*anuttara*). Concealing His own nature, by the glory of His free will alone, He rests on the place of objectively

definable knowledge (pramāṇa), etc., and makes phenomena manifest as if, separate from His own nature.

The universe is the wonderful variety (vicitratā) of Śiva's nature created by Him when he reflects on Himself and thinks 'I am diverse.' Śiva contemplates none other than Himself, whether He knows Himself as the multiplicity of things or as their undivided source. At one with Śiva, the enlightened yogi recognises that the expansion (unmeṣa) of the universe of diversity coincides with the expansion of his own undivided consciousness which appears as "the dawning of absolute reality to the exclusion of the external world." Thus the two phases in the pulse of consciousness coincide. Oscillating like the pans of an evenly weighted balance, they are perfectly equivalent. Kṣemarāja writes:

The state of cosmic contraction (nimeṣa) is identical with the state of expansion (unmeṣa) even though the universe reverts to a pure consciousness, which assimilates everything within itself to form an undivided unity.

Again:

The contracted state (nimeṣa), corresponding to the withdrawal of previously emitted diversity, is itself the expanding (unmeṣa) awareness of the unity of consciousness. Conversely the expanded state (unmeṣa), indicative of forthcoming diversity, is itself the contraction (nimeṣa) of the awareness of the unity of consciousness.

Thus, the expansion and contraction of consciousness are brought about by Śiva's pulsating power, which is simultaneously identical with both. They are the internal and external aspects of the same energy. Similarly, cosmogenesis and lysis do not essentially differ:

Cosmic lysis (pralaya) corresponds to the state of Śiva's power in which external objectivity is predominantly withdrawn (nimeṣa). It is the unfolding (unmeṣa) of the innate nature which corresponds to the emergence of a state of unity (abheda) and the withdrawal of diverse multiplicity (bheda). Therefore we maintain that lysis (pralaya) is the same as the genesis (udaya of consciousness) and that genesis is also the same as lysis.

There are many passages in the Upaniṣads which explicitly state that the universe emerges from Brahman and that it is ultimately reabsorbed back into It. Even so, Śaṅkara's Vedānta cannot accept that creation is a real process. Following the lead of his predecessor, Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara maintains that no universe is ever actually created. The real is unborn and uncreated; hence creation can only occur within the domain of illusion (māyā). From the Advaita Vedāntin's point of view, to state that the universe arises from, and subsides into, the absolute Brahman is another way of saying that the universe is transitory and hence illusory. Illusions also appear and disappear; only their

real ground continues to exist unchanged:

"As the spaces within pots or jars," writes Śaṅkara, "are non-different from cosmic space, or as water in a mirage is non-different from a sandy desert—since they sometimes appear and sometimes vanish away, and as such their nature cannot be defined, even so it to be understood that this phenomenal world of experiences, things experienced and so on, has no existence apart from Brahman."

Kashmiri Śaivism maintains that all things are spontaneously emanated by consciousness in such a way that the original source of the emitted product remains unchanged and one with its emanation. The plenitude of universal manifestation emerges out of the fullness of the absolute; both are perfect expressions of the all-encompassing totality of reality which, thus emitting itself, suffers no loss. The manifestation of the universe is, in this sense, a real event, not just an apparent change (*vivarta*) in the essentially undivided nature of the absolute. Even so, as the absolute undergoes no change when becoming manifest as the universe, diversity is, in a sense, merely an apparent deviation from unity. Again, in one sense, cosmogenesis involves a real transformation (*pariṇāma*) of consciousness into the form of a universe, much as a ball of clay changes when fashioned into a jar. Yet, in another sense, consciousness undergoes no transformation at all. Bhagavatotpala quotes the Light of Consciousness (*Samavitprakāśa*) in his commentary on the Stanzas on Vibration to illustrate this seeming paradox:

In no circumstance is the All Pervasive Lord subject in this way to change, either apparent or real. Even if He were subject to both His nature would remain undivided.

The Kashmiri Śaivite agrees with the Vedāntin that everything appears just as it is without any real change occurring in the essential nature of the absolute. Even so, he maintains that the production of diversity is not merely an apparent change in the unity of the absolute if this implies the production of unreal entities, for they could never be made manifest. Thus, the Kashmiri Śaivite accepts the view that an effect is a real transformation (*pariṇāma*) of its cause, although he does so with certain reservations. Even when the light of consciousness is apparent to us as the universe of our experience, there is no question of its becoming anything else. The effect is the cause appearing as the effect without changing in any way. Abhinava writes:

[A real transformation of cause into effect entails the obscuring of the preceding form of the changing substance and the coming into being of another. In the case of the light of consciousness this is impossible because it has no other form. Moreover, if the light of consciousness were to be obscured the entire universe would be as if blind. Again, if the new form were other than the light of

consciousness it could not appear. In either case the universe could not be perceived and hence would be as if asleep, which runs contrary to our experience.

A change can involve two types of transformation (*pariṇāma*). The first type is total. The material cause becomes its effect (*kāryapariṇāma*) in such a way that it is completely and irreversibly absorbed into it? The example given is that of a log burnt to ashes. This type of change the Kashmiri Śaiva rejects, and so denies that the substance of a material cause undergoes any real change to produce its effect. However, he does accept the possibility of a real change occurring in its qualities (*dharmapariṇāma*). This second type of change does not entail the total destruction of the cause and allows for the possibility of a reversion of the effect back into it. All that has happened is that the qualities of the material cause—its form, texture, physical properties, etc., have temporarily changed.

This concept of causality fits with the manner in which the Kashmiri Śaivite describes the process of manifestation. Consciousness spontaneously evolves through a series of stages ranging from the most subjective or 'inner' states of Śiva-consciousness to the most 'outer' or objective forms of awareness. The process of descent into matter is a progressive self-limitation (*rodhana*) of consciousness. As we have seen the different orders or levels in the hierarchy (*tāratamya*) of being do not, in reality, become manifest consecutively. Even so, the only way we can understand the process of manifestation is to conceive the different categories of existence (*tattva*) as progressively emerging from consciousness in a single causal chain. Each member of this chain is the effect of all the preceding members and a constituent cause of the lower, grosser orders which follow it. Kṣemarāja explains:

When the Lord feels a playful desire to veil His own nature and appears in the order of descent, the preceding members in the sequence... fall into the background and the succeeding forms come to the fore, in such a way that the preceding members serve as the substratum for the succeeding [phases].

In this way the cause contains within itself the effect in a potential form while the effect contains the cause as its actualisation. Abhinava explains:

Thus, even though the final element [in the series] is such as it is, it nonetheless contains within itself all the other countless aspects that, step by step, precede it and are encompassed by it in such a way that they are inseparable from its own nature. Consciousness thus illumines and contemplates itself as full and perfect (*pūrṇa*). The members which precede any given phase likewise have their being in the same reflective awareness and light of consciousness which, full and perfect, has already unfolded through the succeeding members. Thus, none of the phases are divorced from the fullness of consciousness and they embrace all the other members which precede them and forcibly induce them to form a part of their own nature. Each of these phases illumining itself thus, and reflecting on its own nature, is full and perfect.

The two phases of the pulsation of consciousness from inner to outer and outer to inner are equivalent, respectively, to the processes of self-limitation or coagulation (*rodhana*) of consciousness and the dissolution (*drāvaṇa*) of the gross into the subtler forms of consciousness. They represent the sequence of descent into matter and ascent into consciousness. As consciousness descends, its manifestations become increasingly subject to the power of natural law (*niyati*) and so progressively more conditioned. Conversely, as it ascends it frees itself, step by step, of constraints until it reaches its fullest manifestation as the absolute beyond all relativity. Therefore, from one point of view, we can think of the process of descent as a movement into the fettered condition and the process of ascent as the movement towards liberation. This is how it appears to those who have not realised the true nature of the pulse of consciousness—*Spanda*—in its two phases. For the enlightened, however, the movements represent the spontaneous activity of consciousness. Creation is the manifestation of difference within the unity of consciousness through which it immanentises into its cosmic form. Destruction is the reverse of this. Diversity merges into unity and consciousness assumes its transcendental formless aspect. These two aspects represents, respectively, the 'lower' (*apara*) and 'supreme' (*para*) forms of Śiva.

Three Moments in the Vibration of Consciousness

The transformation from one aspect to the other can be analysed in terms of a number of successive phases. This, as we have seen, is no more than a convenient way of conceiving the activity of consciousness. Even so, it serves not only to explain in conceptual terms what happens, but it also serves as a means to realise the liberating experience of *Spanda*. One way this movement can be understood is to analyse it into three stages corresponding to three aspects of the universal power of Śiva's consciousness, namely, will, knowledge and action. All things come into being through an act of will, with action as its immediate instrumental cause and knowledge of its application as the intermediary between the will to create and the act itself. Insofar as the emergence of an object within the field of awareness through the act of perception, and its subsequent subsidence when it has been perceived, are part of the radiant pulse (*sphuraṇa*) of awareness, this three-fold vibration constitutes the essential nature of all things as elements of experience. The intent on making the object manifest, the actual act of manifestation and the manifest state, which are the result of these three powers in their due order, universal flow of the absolute (*anuttara*). Śiva's 'lower' (*apara*) form is the unfolding (*unmeṣa*) of the flow (*prasara*) of this universal will in which His powers of will, knowledge and action manifest in relation to their respective fields of operation. In Śiva's supreme (*para*) form His powers merge into one energy that comes to rest within Śiva where it naturally resides. As *Bhāskarācārya* explains:

[Śakti's] own abode is understood to be the place of Being (sat) called Śiva. It is [Śiva's] vitality (vīrya) [His] energy of the nature of knowledge and action. Energy's stable state is absorption (līnatā), that is, penetration into the agential aspect [of consciousness]. That same [state] ■ the light of intuition (pratibhā) which is the solitary churning of the light of consciousness [that thus aroused issues forth as the universe].

In His supreme, transcendental state, Śiva's knowledge is the awareness He has of Himself as full of all things (pūrṇo 'ham). It is one with His activity as the inner vibration of His all-embracing 'I-ness', the creative movement of the will. Thus, together, these three powers represent aspects of Śiva's bliss, which is His Spanda nature as the enjoying subjectivity (bhoktṛtva). They are the Lordship (īśvaratā), agency of knowledge (jñātṛtva) and agency of action (kartṛtva) of universal consciousness. The vibration of consciousness is the power of one's own true nature (svabhāva) which brings about the incessant coming together and separation of these energies in the supreme state of universal consciousness and on the lower level of individual consciousness. So let us now examine these three powers in greater detail.

The Conative Power of Consciousness

The self-revealing (svataḥsiddha) character of Being corresponds to the incessant flow of consciousness through its will to Be. The outpouring of the will to exist expresses itself both as the active cause of individual beings and the passive assent (abhyupagama) to Being expressed through the individuality (svabhāva) of all that partakes of Being. The will is thus both the agent and the act of Being:

Thus the will of the Lord Who wills to appear as the jars or cloths, etc., constituting the world as the manifestations (ābhāsa) of consciousness, is the cause, the agent and the action.

The will is coextensive with its own conscious intent. As such it is a form of awareness (vimarśa) associated with a specific goal which it reflects on as its objective. The generic nature (sāmānyarūpa) of awareness is thus restricted and directed to a single object. The potter's intention to make a pot relates to the action he is about to perform. If his intent were not limited to its own specific object, the potter could just as well set about weaving a cloth or do anything else. When we walk down the road, we are conscious of our ultimate destination and move towards it; even though we may pause to admire the scenery, the will remains fixed (niyata) on its goal. Similarly, cooking involves a number of separate actions; even so, the awareness that 'I cook' remains one and unbroken. The conscious intent remains constant throughout. Although it may manifest at different times through different actions, the same will necessarily precedes every action and

perception. The existence of another will, prior to, and instigating the will to act or perceive entails that this second will require another to initiate it and that another, leading to an infinite regress. Nor can we deny the existence of the will. Without an original desire to act, activity would be aimless; nothing would determine that one action should occur rather than another. Similarly, no intrinsic necessity ordains that the perception of a particular object should follow that of another. The reason why all other possible perceptions are excluded from the field of awareness is that the will freely chooses to direct attention towards the intended object of perception.

Preceding both perception and action, the will is most clearly manifest (*sphuṭa*) when it belongs to assert itself in the subject before either perception or action take place. The first moment or intent (*anumukhya*) of the will towards its objective conditions the inherent contentment of consciousness at rest in itself, by the act upon which it is intent. Even so, it coincides with the final moment in the movement of the will when the previous desire to act is satisfied and consciousness abides in a state of pure intent free of all specific goals and full of the power of bliss. Abhinava explains:

[The universal will] in the form of desire (*kāmanā*) blossoms forth through the individual subject. Thus actualised, it is apparent as a desire for sense objects. It does not proceed through the succeeding phases [mechanically] step by step like the feet of the blind. Rather, after it has been aroused and has initially decided upon its goal, thus stimulated, it bounds forward with delight to forcibly lay hold of its goal like a farsighted man when walking. The will is clearly evident in the initial state when it has [*jus*] arisen and is similarly full and perfect (*pūrṇa*) in its final state of rest.

Thus, we can distinguish between two moments in the movement of the will. The first is the initial state of tension or intent (*anumukhya*) and the second when it goes on to develop into a conscious desire for a specific object (*iṣyamāna*), discursively representable (*savikalpa*) at the individual level of awareness. At this stage the object of desire appears to be projected outside the subject who desires it, although at the universal level their essential unity remains unchanged. In reality, it is the subject who is always the object of his own desire. But insofar as the subject is now caught up in the object he desires, the first moment is, from the point of view of practice, more important. So for the rest of this section we shall devote our attention to it.

Prior to their manifestation, all things reside within consciousness in a potential form just as in a peacock's egg, we find all the peacock's limbs with its feathers large and small, colours and patterns. In the state of involution (*nimeṣa*) all things mingle with one another in the all-embracing egoity (*pūṁhantā*) of Śiva's nature. When consciousness evolves (*unmeṣa*) out of itself to become the diversified universe of experience, this pre-existent potential is actualised. In this way differentiated awareness pours out of the body of undifferentiated consciousness, heralded by a subtle stress or vibration (*ghūṛṇa*) of

aesthetic delight set up in its causal matrix. [This] is Spanda in its purest form, free of all differentiation. Bhagavatotpala defines it accordingly: 'This pulsation (spanda) is consciousness free of mental constructs. It is the state in which the Supreme Soul actively tends towards [manifestation]. It simultaneously operates everywhere [although the Supreme Soul is in Himself], motionless (nistaraṅga)."

At this stage all the powers of the absolute are activated and merged in the unity of the bliss (ānanda) Śiva experiences contemplating His own nature. Subject, object and means of knowledge form a single undivided whole, like the clay ball (piṇḍa) a potter is about to fashion into a jar. It is the matrix of all cosmic vibrations, both of the physical order and the extra-physical or metaphysical. In this state consciousness is like a seed swelling to bursting point (ucchūna), abounding with infinite possibilities. Somānanda explains:

When a waveless stretch of water becomes violently agitated, one may notice, if one observes carefully, an initial tension which forms within it just when this begins to happen. When the open fingers of the hand are clenched into a fist, one may notice at the outset of this action, a slight movement. Similarly when the desire to create begins to unfold in consciousness, at rest tranquil in itself, a tension arises within it.

This initial instant (tutī) is as fleeting and full of energy as a lightning flash. Preceding the spatial-temporal continuum of the lower (apara) or immanent level of consciousness, it is not a moment fully set in time. The subtle influence the power of time exerts on the, as yet, unclearly differentiated objectivity (idantā) made manifest at this level serves as a link between the eternal and the temporal, the unmanifest consciousness and the manifest universe. He who pays close attention to the initial welling up of desire when it is especially intense is afforded an opportunity to realise the fullness of consciousness by merging into the force of his intention. As Utpaladeva puts it:

Here [during the initial movement of the will] worldly men who desire to ascend to the plane of ultimate reality can experience in this way the entire aggregate of energies.

In states of heightened psychic intensity all the powers operating through the mind and senses are suddenly withdrawn into the pulsing core of one's own nature, just as a tortoise contracts its limbs in fright, and the continuity of mental life is suddenly broken. The ordinary man, hopelessly distracted, is carried away by this flood of energy (śaktiṣarga). The Yogi, however, master of himself, can by the sheer intensity of this energy penetrate through the flux of his feelings to the 'firmly fixed vibration' (pratiṣṭhaspanda) of his own nature. He must learn to do this the instant fear arises in him or when he begins to feel depressed or disgusted, no less than when he is confused and

wondering what to do. Equally he must try to penetrate into the source of the vitality (virya) which intensifies the activity of the senses during the ecstasy of love or of joy at beholding a beautiful object or seeing a close relative after a long time. Overcome with the awe (vismaya) of self-realisation (ātmalābha), the Yogi intuitively feels the intense feelings welling up inside him as aspects of the aesthetic rapture of consciousness (cicchamatkāra) in which all emotions blend together like rivers in the ocean of his blissful consciousness. The Stanzas on Vibration teach:

Spanda is stable in that state one enters when extremely angry, extremely excited, running or wondering what to do?

The alert yogi (prabuddha) reflects upon his own nature and in so doing instantly penetrates into the initial tension of the will during these heightened states of emotivity. The instant they arise he is elevated beyond his conditioned state of consciousness and so is never entangled in them. The unawakened, however, overcome by Māyā, falls a victim to these states believing mistakenly that his many perceptions and actions are independent of the universal pulsation of his own authentic nature. Thus in order to achieve the direct intuitive insight (upalabdhi) that they are grounded in the universal movement of consciousness (sāmānyaspaṇḍa), one must desist from the tendency, engendered by one's lack of self-awareness, to make distinctions between the functions (vṛtti) of consciousness to will, exert itself, know and act, etc. In this way, the yogi discovers that they are all aspects of the one undivided pulse of consciousness.

This awareness can be achieved by attending to the first movement of the will, discovered when we are fully present to ourselves in the actuality of our situation. Every instant is a new beginning which abides in the eternity of the self-perpetuating present where all 'beginnings' cease. The closer we come to experiencing the moment in which the impulse to action arises, the more directly we come in contact with the concrete actuality of the present and the authenticity of our Being. Thus the Spanda teachings instruct the yogi to maintain an alert awareness of the continuity of his consciousness throughout his every action. When running in fear, for example, he should attend closely to the desire he feels to lift his foot; then to the exertion he applies to lift it and the attention he directs to the place where he is going to place it, as well as the actual act of doing so. He must similarly attend to each phase in the production of words and sentences (śabdaniṣpatti) uttered in the excitement of a vivacious conversation, or the movement of the fingers while playing a musical instrument.

The same holds true of the impulse to perceive. The yogi must fix his attention on the thought-free (nirvikalpa) intent of the unfolding (unmeṣa) of awareness which marks the initial impulse to perception (dīrṅkṣā). For an instant the individual subject (kṣetrājña) experiences the same identity between the entities he desires to perceive and his own consciousness, as does the supreme subject between Himself and every entity in the universe. He shares in the Great Pervasion (mahāvyaṁpti) of universal consciousness

present in all the categories of existence (tattva). Abhinava explains:

Immersing himself in the supreme reality, clearly aware that consciousness is all things, the Yogi's consciousness vibrates. This vibration (ghūṃti) is the Great Pervasion (mahāvyāpti).

Always on the alert to discern the activity of his own vibrating consciousness, the Yogi's attitude (mudrā) is kept secret (rahasya) in the privacy of his own experience. Established in his own nature, the Yogi's awareness is intent (unmukha) on discerning the All (sarvabhāva) as his true nature through the on-going expansion (vikāsavṛtti) of his own consciousness the instant his senses are set in motion:

The Yogi should abide firmly fixed in his own nature by the power of the exertion of his expanding consciousness (vikāsavṛtti). Thus he is established on the plane of Bliss relishing the objects of sense that spontaneously appear before him. Perfected yogis (siddha), devoted to bliss, are ever steadfast in this, the Supreme Gesture (mudrā), the perfect and unobstructed expansion of the Awakened.

Intent in this way on the initial movement of the will, the power of the Yogi's awareness free of thought-constructs (nirvikalpa) transcends the limitations imposed upon it by the diversity of perceptions and he is awakened to the higher reality of his all-embracing (pūrṇa) nature. Penetrating into the universal vibration (sāmānyaspaṇḍa) of consciousness, he shares in its unfolding vision (unmeṣa) and comes to recognise every state, whether in the mental or in the physical sphere, to be Śiva. Every phase in the unfolding and withdrawal of the activity of the will is now illumined by the Yogi's reflective awareness. Perceiving the totality of his experience through the undivided vision of universal consciousness, he experiences the subject, object and means of knowledge as a single whole reposing in the supreme subject with which he is now identified. Having burnt away the sense of diversity (vibhāgabodha) in the fire of awareness and transmuted it into the unity of his true nature, the yogi is established in the supreme flow (paradharā) of the powers of consciousness. He maintains a state of self-awareness throughout every moment of his experience, be it while waking, dreaming or in deep sleep. Space, time, change and form are recognised to be modalities of the one consciousness and no longer condition it. The awakened Yogi is now constantly mindful of the pulsing power of his true nature not only in the beginning but in every phase of his activity and perception. He realises that all things exist by virtue of their identity with the supreme subject which he recognises himself to be and so no longer wanders in saṃsāra.

The Cognitive Power of Consciousness

The apparent gap between the unmanifest, perceiving consciousness and the

manifest, perceived subject is bridged by understanding their distinctive status as two modes of perception. The cognitive power of consciousness operates both as the immediate, intuitive awareness consciousness has of its own nature and as the mediated perception of objectively manifest particulars. The will to create represents the first movement (*ādyaspanda*) out of the absolute, unmanifest condition into the relative, phenomenally manifest state. The first movement (*ādyaspanda*) of awareness that occurs within the sphere of manifestation is the perception of the undifferentiated totality projected into it by the universal will. The activity of the power of knowledge coincides with the expansion (*unmeṣa*) of objectivity in the field of awareness. In the primordial emptiness of consciousness the faint traces of cosmic manifestation appear as 'the inner desire to know the universe consciousness wills to create.' This unfolding awareness successively evolves through the various states of consciousness ranging from deep sleep to the waking state, where the totality of occurrences making up the world of experience is set apart from the individual locus of awareness. The perceptions occasioned by the operation of the cognitive power of consciousness are now fully formed and the universe of experience is manifest in all its plenitude:

This is the expansion of the power of knowledge which unfolds spontaneously, through its own energy (*tejas*); phenomena become fully manifest through the persistence of cognition (*jñānasthiti*).

The vibrating power (*spandaśakti*) of knowledge is thus the pure cognitive awareness (*upalabdhr̥tā*) of consciousness, which both links perceptions together and accounts for their individual emergence within the field of awareness. These two functions correspond to the quiescent and emergent aspects of consciousness, which together account for the possibility of phenomenal experience. The quiescent aspect represents absolute, undivided consciousness and the emergent, its finite manifestations. Perceptions could not take place were consciousness to be constantly at rest within itself. Completely immersed in its own indeterminate nature, nothing could be made manifest at all. On the other hand, if consciousness were to be entirely emergent as the manifest universe, it could never be consciously experienced. The apparent ontological distinction between the absolute and the relative, the infinite and the finite, is thus reducible to an epistemic distinction between two different modes of knowledge. The cognitive power of consciousness is its capacity to shift back and forth between these two modes and, as it does so, select some of the countless potential forms merged within it to make them externally manifest.

The light of consciousness, full to overflowing with innumerable phenomena, thus separates some of them from itself, while at the same time limiting its own nature to appear as the individual (*māyīya*) subject set apart from the object. Perception takes place when this limited subject is affected by the 'shade' (*chāyā*) cast upon it by the object. As the pulse of awareness moves from the expanded, undivided state to the contracted, limited condition and back again at each instant, novel perceptions are generated and the

world of experience is thus constantly renewed. Thus this energy, like those of will and action, is essentially Śiva's creative power (svātantrya) which is the vibration (spanda) of consciousness through which He generates all things.

The Power of Action

Śiva's conative energy becomes fully evident in all its plenitude when the activity of consciousness is manifest (prasṛta) on the phenomenal plane. The creative will is the freedom of the absolute and so is equated both with its power to act (kriyāśakti) and its power to fashion the diverse forms of the universe (nirmāṇaśakti). It is the action of the creative subjectivity (nirmātrtā) of consciousness. As 'the agency of the Act of Being' the power of action is the essence (sāra) of universal Being (sattāmātra) of all things both as their pragmatic efficacy and manifest nature.

This autonomous Act of Being is free in every way. It is an act of awareness, the agent of which is the Light of the Heart of consciousness. Being can only be directly experienced within the domain of the subject. We cannot grasp the pure Act of universal Being in the sphere of objectivity. The object is a product of the Act of Being of which the subject is the agent. Only the agent is completely autonomous and self-existent. As such he is one and absolute and so can be none other than Śiva Himself, Whose agency is free in all respects. The potter is an agent and is free to make his pot because he shares in Śiva's nature as the agent. It is Śiva Himself Who fashions the jar through the potter and weaves a cloth through the weaver, just as at the universal level He is the guide and impeller (pravartaka) of the flux of cosmic forces and of the powers of consciousness:

Listen ! Our Lord, Whose nature is consciousness, is unlimited, the absolute master of the arising and dissolving away of every power.

Śiva, the universal agent, eternally active is never bound by His activity. The universe is the unfolding effect of Śiva's agency (kartṛprathā) while He, as the agent, always remains true to His essential, autonomous nature. The law of action and reaction (karma) binds only the ignorant. At the lower level, outer activity contrasts with inner awareness. The unfolding of the power of action coincides with the withdrawal of self-awareness. At the higher level, the universal outpouring of consciousness is experienced as the inner Being of all things which spontaneously rise out of it without obscuring it in any way:

Thus action is said to be one and born of no other inner nature [but itself, which, as such] emerges out of the innate nature [of all things]. It is [the goddess] Śiva, the inner nature, which spontaneously emerges out of itself.

The Doctrine of Vibration urges us to be conscious of Spanda, the recurrent

activity of consciousness. In all its outer phases, be they will, knowledge or action, we can catch a glimpse of our authentic identity and realise our inherent freedom. The inner activity of consciousness, free of all restrictions, is bliss itself. The experience of Spanda is wonder, an abiding bliss far higher than the transitory pleasures of life. We can experience Spanda through the activity of the senses, mind and body, because its foundation is universal consciousness, our authentic Śiva nature. Thus the Spanda Yogi finds freedom where those who, failing to attend to the vibration of consciousness, are bound.

19

Srisaillam: Pilgrimage Centre, Andhra Pradesh

Before going into the discussion about pilgrims and pilgrimage it is worthwhile to give a brief account of the sacred geography of Srisaillam. Srisaillam is a plateau situated about 1500 feet above the mean sea level. It is situated in the thick forest of Nallamalai hills (Eastern Ghats) in Atmakur taluk of Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh, India. It is girdled round by the holy river Krishna on three sides *i.e.*, North, West and East. The temple of Lord Mallikarjuna stand on a little hallow on the top of the hill at latitude 16°12' North and longitude 78°85' East. The Lord Mallikarjuna is one of the twelve Jyotherlingas in India and is self-born one. Once this holy place flourished as a great Shivaite centre and saints like Nagarjuna, Adi Sankaracharya penanced here. Since nineteenth century A.D. a number of choultries (rest houses) shops have come into existence. Besides, few new temples of little and great traditional ones came into existence. There are more than sixty sacred centres located ail over Srisaillam. It is served by both Brahmin and non-Brahmin sacred specialists to perform almost a nineteen-hour daily ritual worship and to carry on annual programmes and festivals. The temple has more than three hundred administrative personnel on its pay rolls to manage its dawn to dusk affairs, and to look after the thousands of pilgrims visiting it every day.

Pilgrimage is an institutionalised journey by an individual or a group to a holy place. Pilgrims hope to obtain material and spiritual benefits ranging from bodily cures, prosperity and progeny to peace of mind and salvation. They may go in a spirit of penance for more sin or of gratitude and devotion. According to Altareya Brahmana (Vol. VII, p.15) the origin of pilgrimage in India is the result of the animistic basis of the popular beliefs, reflected in the higher forms of Hinduism and even in the local developments of Islam. The Puraṇās (ancient religious texts) are the main source of information on pilgrimage. Kshetra Mahatyam (importance of sacred centre), Thirthashalas (sacred threams) are the important parts of the Puraṇās which explain the efficacy of pilgrimage and the upright way of life a pilgrim is required to lead during Tirthayatra (pilgrimage).

In India, pilgrimages at the time of seasonal festivals have long been important.

Hindus visit holy places to attain blessings, atone for sins, and enjoy the carnival like (merriment) atmosphere. There are some recommended performances to be done by a pilgrim at almost every important sacred centre, they are the mundan ceremony (tonsure ceremony), holy bath (holy dip in sacred rivers and sacred ponds), vow, prayer, worship, gifts, cremation as such.

Importance of Srisaillam

As it has already been described earlier, Srisaillam finds a prominent mention in various sacred scriptures. A special reference had been mentioned in 'Srisailla Kandha' of Skandapurāṇa about the most important shrine and Phallus (linga) which is popularly known as Lord Srisailla Mallikarjunaswami.

This holy place is mentioned in Mahabharata (Vana 85, VV. 19-20). Agni Purāṇa states that Srisaillam is a Siddhakshitra where God Shiva and Parvathi always reside (Agni. Ch. 113: VV. 6, 7). The Matsya-Purāṇa describes Srisaillam as a seat of the mother Goddess Madhavi (Matsya-Purāṇa, Ch. 13: Verse 31).

Although the sectarian religion of Srisaillam is essentially Śaivism right from the ancient times, several sub-sects of that faith had their stronghold at this holy abode of Mallikarjuna (Shiva) claiming their individuality and control over the shrine. All the more interesting is the royal patronage enjoyed by these sects from time to time. The Siddhas, Kapalikas, Kalamukhas, Pasupatas and Virasaivas are the most prominent among these sects. Tantric schools of Śaivism like Yamila and Bhairava also had their centres on this hill.

Tradition as well as epigraphical sources inform us that the shrine of Srisaillam was approachable through four places on the plains, generally called the gateways of Srisaillam on its four cardinal directions. They are Tripurantakam in the Prakasam district in the East; Siddhavatam in the Cuddapah district, in the South. Alampuram in the Mahabubnagar district in the West; and Umamaheswaram in Mahabubnagar district in the North. The concept of the gateways of Srisaillam is traceable from 8th and 9th centuries A.D. All these four places developed as centres of pilgrimage. The pilgrims those who were making their journey towards Srisaillam through these gateways were mainly helped and guided by the local tribal Chenchus. However, they are not being used now to reach Srisaillam as bus route was made in the year 1961. Devotees now mainly make use of this facility.

Pilgrims to Srisaillam: Composition of Pilgrims

to analyse the pilgrimage to Srisaillam a sample of 500 pilgrims representing the various cross-sections of Hindu society was drawn up. According to this sample analysis, pilgrims from all over India visit this sacred city.

Since Srisaillam is located in Andhra Pradesh, a large number of pilgrims i.e. 33.6 per cent are from this State. The second position is occupied by the pilgrims of Karnataka, which is the neighbouring State, which formed 24.4 per cent of the total pilgrims

interviewed. Next, subsequently third, fourth and fifth, places are occupied by the pilgrims of Maharashtra (18.4%), Tamil Nadu (12.4%), and Kerala (4.2%) respectively. Pilgrims from Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have also visited, and thus, from the point of view of 'spreading importance', Srisaillam may be called as important place of pilgrimage, which attracts pilgrims not only from local and regional but also from national levels.

The pilgrims to Srisaillam have been categorised into five groups based on their number of visits to Srisaillam.

Preparation for Pilgrimage

The Brahmanic scriptures have prescribed in great detail the rules regarding pilgrimage. The earliest reference of pilgrimage in Indian sacred scripture is reported to be found in the *Attereya Brahmana*. The respectability attached to pilgrimage is not lost anywhere in India, for the pilgrims from different regions of the country have reported that the beliefs in the efficacy of *tirtha yatra* is well founded in their respective villages and towns. Attraction to pilgrimage towards Srisaillam is evidenced from the fact that among the pilgrims interviewed 167 (33.4%) had visited sacred Srisaillam for the first time, and 152 (30.4%) pilgrims visited Srisaillam for more than five times so far, which is a remarkable one.

In most of the villages and even towns of South India, sometimes subscriptions are collected and those who wish to make a pilgrimage to Srisaillam and other important tirthas enlist their names in advance to the organisers, thus, a collective pilgrimage is arranged. Special buses are arranged by the organisers. This type of collective pilgrimage is reported from all parts of India.

In some of the South Indian villages, there is a custom that a person going on pilgrimage will announce his intention to the villagers who are invited to his house. On that occasion they worship the family deity and later on all the villagers will see off that person at the boundary of the village. After taking this type of sacred vow (*sankalpana*), one cannot return to his village unless he or she completes the intended pilgrimage. After returning from pilgrimage the pilgrim has to arrange a *katha* generally followed by a feast to the villagers. The prasadam and the tirtha (sacred river water) which he or she collects during the pilgrimage is also distributed to the invitees and to his kinsmen. Among the five hundred pilgrims interviewed at Srisaillam, 273 (54.6%) had come with family members, 89 (17.8%) come with friends and 138 (27.6%) visited this sacred place alone. Most of the pilgrims visited Srisaillam in groups.

It is interesting to note that 15.6 per cent (78) of the pilgrims visited not only the presiding deities of Srisaillam but also few little traditional gods located within the sacred geography of Srisaillam. They have performed rites in this little traditional sacred centres in accordance with the vows taken. Sometimes the pilgrims offer animal sacrifices to goddesses like Gangamma and Poleramma.

Many sacred bathing ghats and gundams are not equally used by all the pilgrims. In some of the Gundams like Mallikkagundam, Manoharagundam, Rudhiragundam, the

sacred bathing is strictly prohibited by the temple administration, as the waters of these gundams are exclusively used for drinking and sacred purposes. 79.6 per cent (398) Pathalaganga. Only 3.2 per cent (16) of the pilgrims visited Veebhuti gundam and 4.2 per cent (21) of the pilgrims visited Sidhi Ramappakolanu to take sacred bath.

Besides, there are nearly nineteen religious institutions like *mathams*, *ashrams*, located within the sacred geography of Srisaillam. Pilgrims visit these places to get blessings of the Sidha Sadhus of that place. Only 9.2 per cent (46) pilgrims are reported to have visited these *mathams* and *ashrams*.

After making sacred performances in Lord Mallikarjunaswami temple and other important temples, some pilgrims visit the project on the bank of river Krishna which is very near to Srisaillam. 23.6 per cent (118) of pilgrims visited Sunnipenta where Srisaillam Hydro electric Project is constructed on the river Krishna.

Pilgrims whose family deities are Lord Shiva and His subordinate gods and pilgrims whose family deities are Lord Krishna and any of His 'Dasavatharams' visit Srisaillam in almost equal number. Among the five hundred pilgrims interviewed 163 (32.6%) are staunch devotees of Lord Shiva, 65 (13%) worship of Lord Vigneswara, whereas 116 (23.2%) worship Lord Krishna. In addition to the above mentioned great tradition gods, goddess Kali a little traditional god is also worshipped by a few pilgrims as their family deity. From this it is clearly evident that both Shivites and Vaishnavites visit this holy place irrespective of their sectarian affiliations.

Daily Routine of the Pilgrims

The daily routine of the pilgrims briefly recorded here is as such: A pilgrim who wants to worship Mallikarjunaswami takes a sacred bath in the holy river Krishna in the early hours of the day. After taking bath he performs some rituals at the ghats (Pathalanganga) and then proceeds to worship Mallikarjunaswami and other deities located in that cluster. During his stay over there he strictly commits himself to take vegetarian food and usually takes rest in the afternoon. He performs abhishekam to Lord Mallikarjunaswami in the early hours of the day. In the evening hours he goes to Mallikarjuna temple for having darshan of the Mallikarjunaswami at the time of Susandhayam and Mahamangalaharathi. Afterwards he goes to Goddess Bramarambha temple for having darshan of the Mangalaharathi and Rajapachara Pujas which are performed in the temple.

On the second day he performs *rudrabhishekam* to Mallikarjunaswami and kumkumarchana to Goddess Bramarambha. On the second and third days, he goes for puja and darshan of the various shrines such as Vrudha Mallikarjuna temple, Siharam, Hatakeswaram, Veerbhadra temple, Sakshi Ganapathi temple and few gundams and mathams like Manohara gundam, Mallika gundam, Panchamathams, Srisailla Jagadguru Panditaradhy Peetam, Sri Sankaracharya Matham. Besides he may worship a Trifala Vrusham (peepul, fig and ficus trees grown together are called thriphala meaning three types of trees yielding fruits) by circumambulating it after having sacred bath at Krishna ghats in the morning hours. It is believed that by circumambulating this tree the persons get himself relieved from his sufferings immediately.

Apart from this, in Srisaïlam there is a peculiar custom known as 'dhuli darshan.' This is mostly followed by the pilgrims who are from Karnataka. At the time of the dasara festival many pilgrims from Karnataka start pilgrimage towards Srisaïlam on foot. After climbing the footstairs of the hill the pilgrims straightaway walk into the sanctum sanctorum of the Mallikarjunaswami temple without taking bath at Krishna Ghat for having darshna.

In the daily routine of a pilgrim, a holy bath in the Krishna Ghat and Puja performance to Lord Mallikarjunaswami are essential (the minimum sacred performances to be followed every day), and common to all, the performance of a ritual depends upon one's own interest. Hence, there are personal variations. Before going to the bed he remembers Lord Mallikarjuna, in the belief that it is the sacred place of Lord Mallikarjuna where he has come to spend a few days in peace. Generally in his stay, particularly in the morning he will be busy in making sacred performances, in the afternoons he participates in Nithya kalayanotsavam which is performed to Lord Mallikarjuna and to Goddess Bramarambha. Since the merit of pilgrimage is proportioned to the time one devoted to sacred performances the daily routine of the devoted pilgrim is crowded with religious activities.

Place of Pilgrims Stay at Srisaïlam

From the point of view of accommodation for pilgrims at Srisaïlam, 22.6 per cent (113) of the pilgrims stayed in Dharmashalas, 35.8 per cent (179) stayed in choultries, 19.6 per cent (98) stayed in cottages and 4.8 per cent (24) stayed with their relatives, only 17.2 per cent (86) left Srisaïlam without staying anywhere.

Pilgrim's Relations with the Sacred Specialists

The nature of relationship between a pilgrim and sacred specialist may reflect the attitude of pilgrim towards sacred specialist. Among the pilgrims interviewed maximum number *i.e.*, 85.6 per cent (428) of pilgrims have temporary relationship with the sacred specialist, and only 9.8 per cent (49) pilgrims have hereditary relationship with the tirthapurohitha, 6.6 per cent (33) pilgrims did not utilise the services of the sacred specialists at all. They themselves performed the rituals of worship, tarpana etc.

What has come out in the interviews, is that the motivating factors which inspires the pilgrims to visit Srisaïlam reveals that 38.8 per cent (194) of the pilgrims were motivated by their parents, kinsmen and friends, 24.4 per cent (122) come to perform necessary and obligatory rituals, 13.6 per cent (68) themselves decided to go on a pilgrimage, 7.4 per cent (37) followed the advice of the astrologers and family priests to overcome their misfortune and problems, and 15.8 per cent (79) of the pilgrims did not clarify the motivating factor of their pilgrimage to Srisaïlam.

By interviewing the pilgrims it is evident that most of the pilgrims do not have adequate knowledge of the sacred geography of Srisaïlam. Only 41.8 per cent (209)

pilgrims had knowledge about the boundaries of Srisailam Mahakshetram as described in the scriptures. Roughly 95 per cent of the pilgrims had some knowledge of the Mahatyam of Srisailam either through villagers and kinsmen or through sacred specialists and sacred texts, before coming to this sacred place on pilgrimage. This further testified the strength of the traditional media of communication through which the strength of the knowledge of the great tradition, pilgrimage etc. is continually transmitted. Once the pilgrims arrive in this holy place the various sacred specialists interact with them, and it is this interaction and personal experiencing of the sacred phenomena which added to the knowledge of the pilgrims and sustain their interest and faith in the instruction of pilgrimage.

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Stambheśvari Cult

Stambheśvari, 'The Goddess of the Post or Pillar', is one of the famous formless autochthonous deities widely worshipped in the hill tracts of the Sambalpur, Dhenkānāl, Balāngīr, Kalāhāṇḍī and the Ganjam districts of Orissa. She also goes by the local colloquial name of Khambeśvari. She is worshipped as a manifestation of Śakti in the forms of wooden posts or pillars and also through stones. She was the tutelary deity of some ruling dynasties like those of Tuṣṭīkāra, the Śūktis and the Bhanjas and the feudatories of the Somavamsis like Rāṇaka Śrī Jayārnava in the early mediaeval period. The antiquity of the Stambheśvari cult may be traced back to C. 5th century A.D. Since then the Cult of Stambheśvari alias Khambeśvari is wide spread and popular particularly in western Orissa and the Ghumsar region of South Orissa. She is still the presiding deity in most of the villages of Ghumsar, Baudh, Sonepur, Angul, Talcher and Dhenkānāl regions which consist mostly of forest tracts.

Stambheśvari was originally an aboriginal Goddess worshipped by the non-Aryan tribes of hinterland Orissa. In course of time she was like many other tribal deities given a place in the Hindu pantheon. She was adopted and worshipped by the Aryan invaders who had settled amidst the non-Aryan tribes. Subsequently she was transformed from a nomadic cult to Śakti cult. Gradually when the Aryan chiefs established small kingdoms of their own they had to depend upon the sturdy tribals for the consolidation and the defence of their newly established kingdoms. The Aryan kings also needed the lands of the different tribes and their services for promotion and extension of peasant agriculture which would yield enough surplus crops to meet the requirements of the increased civil and military personnel. Thus the kings were dependent upon the support and the loyalty of the tribes. Therefore, they kept them in good humour through the gradual process of inclusion of the tribal groups into the Hindu caste system and the absorption and adoption of some aspects of the tribal religion and culture into the Aryan fold.

Pargiter had observed that 'the Aryans met with the religious practices and beliefs among whom (the tribes) they ruled over or came into lasting contact with, and have

assimilated some of them gradually thus modifying their own religion to a certain extent.' In this process the dominant tribal deities like Stambheśvari were aryanised and patronised by the kings as tutelary deities. Patronage of the dominant autochthonous deities enabled the kings to consolidate their power and its legitimation in the Hindu tribal zone of the hilly hinterland or Western Orissa.

In this process of Aryanisation the Brāhmaṇas who were granted rent free lands in the tribal areas, played an important role. They settled in the forest tracts through land grants and came into contact with the forest tribes which resided in the dominion of the Aryan kings. The Brāhmaṇas defined and codified the duties of the tribes which were to lead a recluse living in the forest and serve their king in various ways. Prof. R.S. Sharma has rightly stated that "the significance of land grants of Brāhmaṇas is no difficult to appreciate. The grantees brought new knowledge which improved cultivation and inculcated in the aborigines a sense of loyalty to the established order upheld by the rulers." The coexistence of Brāhmaṇical and tribal cultures led to the interaction between these two. So much so the deities like Stambheśvari worshipped by the non-Aryan tribes entered the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. It may be mentioned that the hill tribes who believed in matriarchy were worshippers of Śakti. Stambheśvari is also worshipped as a manifestation of Śakti in the hill tracts of Orissa or atleast in tribal surroundings. Stambheśvari is the best example of the aboriginal goddesses of Orissa which underwent the process of Aryanisation in earlier times.

The first royal patron of Stambheśvari was Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra. He ruled over the Kalāhaṇḍi, Sonepur, Baudh and Ghumsar regions in the 5th century A.D. These regions cover the hill tracts of Western and Southern Orissa. The earliest reference to Stambheśvari is found in the Terasiṅga copper plates of Tuṣṭikāra. In this inscription Tuṣṭikāra has styled himself as 'Stambheśvari Pādabhaktaḥ.' The inscription reveals that Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra in order to cure his ailing mother, Śrī Sobhini, worshipped at the feet of Goddess Stambheśvari, the Iṣṭadevi of his family. At Āskā in the Ghumsar region of the Ganjam district there is a temple of Stambheśvari, locally called as Khambheśvari, on the bank of the river Rishikulyā. It is interesting to note that some of the place names occurring in the Terasiṅga plates have been located by S.N. Rajguru in the Āskā region. In view of this it may be suggested that the Goddess Khambheśvari at Āskā was enshrined at first by Tuṣṭikāra in C. 5th century A.D.

Stambheśvari was also the tutelary deity of the Śulki dynasty (c. A.D. 600-900) of Kodālaka Maṇḍala, corresponding to the present Dhenkānāl-Angul-Tālcher region, a tribal belt. All the śulki rulers have confined their names with that of their tutelary deity. Their names end with the word 'Stambha', such as Kāñchanastambha, Raṇastambha, Kulastambha and Jayastambha. In their inscriptions the Śulkis claimed to have received their kingship in their capital Kodāla and achieved success and prosperity through the grace of Goddess Stambheśvari. Thus in the Dhenkānāl plates of Kulastambha we come across the phrase 'Stambheśvari Labdha Vara Prasādah.' Similarly in the Puri plates of Raṇastambha we find mention of Stambheśvari Datta Vara Prasādat. Raṇastambha in another of his C.P. Grants is said to have received boons from Stambheśvari (Stambheśvari

Prāpta Vara Prasādat). Stambheśvari is declared as the witness (Sakṣiṇī) of the Dheṅkāṇāl grants of Raṇastambha. The Śulkis were most probably the members of the Śaulika tribe which according to the Brhatsamhita and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa lived between the Kalingas and the Chedis (of Dakṣhiṇa Kośala). Therefore, it is quite obvious that the rulers of the Śulki dynasty had acknowledged and royally patronised the dominant autochthonous Goddess of their own region, the Stambheśvari, as their tutelary deity.

It is interesting to note that the worship of Stambheśvari is widely popular even at present in the Dheṅkāṇāl, Angul and Talcher regions, once ruled by the Śulkis. Stambheśvari shrines are found at Barimul near Baḍāmbā, Bāmur and Taras near Angul which is not far from the capital of the Śulkis. Khambheśvari represented by a simple stone or wooden post is worshipped in the cultivating season in different villages in the Angul region by the Dehuris belonging to the Kondh tribe or the Suddha caste, a caste of tribal affiliation. This worship is named Kadāldi Pūjā (Worship of the cultivating season).

In the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. the Bhaṇja dynasty of Kṛiṇjill Maṇḍala corresponding to the present Sonepur-Baudh-Phulbāṇi and Ghumsar region, a predominantly tribal area, patronised Goddess Stambheśvari. In their copper plate grants like the Taspākerā plate and Singhara Copper Plate of Rāṇaka Raṇabhaṇja the Bhaṇja kings have been said to have received boons from Goddess Stambheśvari (Stambheśvari Vara-Labdha).

The Kamalpur Copper Plate Grant of Rāṇaka Śrī Jayāṛṇama, a feudatory of the last Somavaṁsi King Karṇa Deva (C. A.D. 1100-10) records that the donor Jayāṛṇama received boons from Khambheśvari (Śrī Khambheśvari Vara Labdha Prasāda). This is the first inscription in which the Oriya word Khambheśvari is used from the Sanskrit Stambheśvari. It is significant to note that the Somavaṁsis who were staunch Śaivites showed toleration towards the Khambheśvari cult worshipped by their feudatories.

From the middle of the 13th century a branch of the Bhaṇja dynasty ruled over Ghumsar in the Gaṇjām district till its occupation by the English in 1835 A.D. Ghumsar is a region inhabited by the non-Aryan tribes like the Kondhs, Kuis and Savaras. The Bhaṇjas of Ghumsar patronised Khambheśvari worshipped by these tribes. They made liberal grants to the worship of Khambheśvari at Āskā which was regarded as the presiding deity of the southern gate (Dakṣhiṇa Dvāra) of the Ghumsar kingdom. One of its rulers, Dhanaṇjaya Bhaṇja (c. 1636-1702 A.D.) renovated the Khambheśvari temple at Āskā.

It is suggested that the representation of Stambheśvari was probably made out on a Stambha (Pillar) indicating a Śiva Liṅga. Such a Liṅga with the representation of Śakti is no doubt found among the sculptural remains of Eastern India. It should, however, be pointed out that whatever might have been the form of the Goddess worshipped in the early medieval period, the deity is at present worshipped by different castes under the Prākṛitic name Khambheśvari in the form of a post or pillar of wood or stone without any reference to Śiva Liṅga. The Stone posts representing the Goddess have been anthropomorphised and converted into images which are worshipped in open space

under the bushy groves or under a tree on the road sides or hutments in the middle of the village or in its close vicinity. Some images are also worshipped in temples. Animal sacrifices are offered to propitiate this pillar Goddess. Tradition asserts that human sacrifices were also made in the past to this Goddess. The priests of the Khambheśvari shrines, both male and female, are not Brāhmins. They are affiliated to different tribal groups. The male priests call themselves Sudra Muni, Muni, Jāni, Māli, Dehuri, Devatā, Rāula etc. The female priests are generally called Jāniāni and Māliāni. The Pūjā is performed in some shrines every day and in some others only once in a week or in a month. It is believed that Stambheśvari protects human beings, cures diseases, ascertains fertility and confers every form of mundane benefit.

The Khambheśvari temple at Āskā in the Ganjam district is famous among the shrines of the autochthonous deities of Orissa. It is regarded as a Śākta Pīṭha. An interesting legend of this temple says that once Goddess Khambheśvari appeared in a dream before Khambamuni who lived in the forest and desired that she should be worshipped by the latter. As per the stipulation of Khambamuni she lived in his hut as a daughter. But this unfortunately caused suspicion among the people passing through the forest by the side of the hut about the old man living alone in the company of a belle. Khambamuni was very sorry to know about this and one fine morning to save himself from defame revealed the true self of the girl, who (the Goddess) convinced the people of the truth disclosed by Khambamuni by miraculously disappearing from the spot. From thence forward she made a lot of fun and frolic with her foster father, such as she would purchase bangles and let the old man pay for it and frightened the old man by her sudden appearance before him holding in her arms a baby cut into pieces.

At last the old man lost his patience and out of annoyance slapped her as a result of which her face turned to one side. After this incident she declared that her childhood play or 'disguise' was over, that her foster father (Khambamuni) would die and that she would be worshipped on the spot, i.e., in the forest by the tribal people. Thus the legend accounts for the affiliation of the tribals to Goddess Khambheśvari. The feature of the baby cut into pieces conveys the idea of human sacrifices or at least *tantric* practices associated with the Goddess.

The Goddess Khambheśvari at Āskā is worshipped both as an image in the Garbhagriha and as a wooden pole presiding over the sacrificial pit in front of the main image opposite the main door of the sanctum. The main image consists of a stone pole which has been anthropomorphised by the addition of a disk as head. She has a slightly carved nose and mouth, while her three eyes and the protruding tongue are made of gold. There is a thick layer of pasty vermillion on her face painted from time to time. She has been adorned with gorgeous silken dress and heavy golden ornaments. "Her image confers both: the impression of a real Hindu image, whose body and limbs are mostly not to be seen because of the dresses and ornaments and the impression of the pole, whose form is still evident in spite of the dress." The priests of the temples are Sudras who have a tribal origin. In the past the priests were known as Sudra Munis. But the present generation of priests prefer to call themselves as muni only, omitting the term Sudra

apparently with a view to make their tribal or low caste origin less known so as to alleviate their social status.

Animal sacrifices are offered to Khambheśvari on festive occasions like the Dasaharā and the non-vegetarian Bhoga cooked by the Sudra priests is taken by all the devotees irrespective of caste. Wooden posts representing Khambheśvari are also found at many places among which the one at Gandharadi is famous. The wooden posts are renewed every ten years and the ceremony of the renewal is known as Dasandhi which is like Navakalevara of the Jagannātha images. In the Jagannātha shrine the making of images out of wood has continued to be a practice. Stambheśvari also continues to be carved in wood at some places of Western Orissa since time immemorial. Some scholars have linked Khambheśvari with Subhadra on account of the similarity in their iconography and iconology to a certain extent.

Thus Stambheśvari is one of the best examples of the autochthonous Goddesses of Orissa which underwent the process of aryanisation in earlier times. Having no specific iconographic features nor appearing in Brahmanical all Indian theology Stambheśvari "was acknowledged as a member of the documented theology of the society in whose contact the tribes lived." As a link between Hinduisation and local tradition Stambheśvari has played a significant role in the folk religion of Orissa.

21

Swami Muktananda Paramahansa's

Baba named his popular autobiography *Chitshakti Vilas* or *The Play of Chitshakti*. In the preface to *Siddhā Meditation* (a commentary on the *Shivasutras*), Baba writes: "The Self is consciousness. It unfolds its countless powers when it sets out to create a universe, and manifests as the subject (perceiver) and the object (perceived). Though the cosmos contains the twofold division of seer and seen, still it is a unity since there is not a single object in it which cannot be apprehended by consciousness or illumined by it. An object—which is not amenable to knowledge (perception) cannot exist.

"The functional aspect of Chiti, the rays of the light of consciousness, are present in all directions, everywhere...Parashiva is the soul of the universe—supremely pure completely full, the conscious Self...There is nothing apart from Shiva. There is nothing other than Shiva. Whatever there is, is Shiva. To be aware of Parashiva is to be fearless and free in the Self. There is nothing which is not Shiva; there is no place which is not Shiva; there is no time which is not Shiva; there is no state which is not Shiva. Not a single thought—wave can arise separate from Shiva. To be aware of this is to be aware of Shiva. Here, there, wherever you look, whatever, you think, is Shiva...

"The perfectly non-dual awareness of Shiva is available by Guru's grace, by the favour of Nityananda, by the love of Shiva. We must worship, remember, and understand Shiva by becoming Shiva. This is the *path* of Nityananda, the *path* given by the Guru. It is nothing new, it is not a sect or a cult, not the monopoly of a single people or a single land. It is the religion of all countries, all religions, all societies, all men."

All this clearly shows that Baba is a lover of Kashmir Śaivism. The philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism pervades his teaching. While explaining natural Samadhi Baba says: "One aphorism of the *Pratyabhijnahridayam* reads: (*Madhya vikasat chidananda labhah*). That means that when the Kundalini is raised in the sushumna, the central nerve, by the Guru's grace, the all-pervasive Chiti illumines a student with Her knowledge. His mind becomes quiescent through meditation and this state also persists in his practical life. He sees Chiti unfolding Herself in all his daily actions and activities, in worship, scriptural study, and meditation; in his household, family, servants, and the objects of his enjoyment. He then enjoys full peace in meditation and freedom from anxiety in worldly affairs. As he masters this Yogic stage, he spontaneously glides into a permanent

imperturbable state. In fact, Chitshakti Herself assumes this state and dwells within such a Yogi, thus rewarding him for practicing Sadhana by the Guru's grace. This is the state of natural Samadhi. One who achieves this is considered to be a great Yogi, a supreme devotee of Shiva, even though he may continue to live in the world.

"This Yogi perceives only Chiti's everlasting sport, within as well as without...Such an attitude results in perfect equipoise. In this unchangeable state, endowed with the power of the great *mantra*, a person sees his body, *prana*, senses, and their objects as no different from his inner Self, brimming with consciousness. He feels that he may consider them in any manner; it is the supremely glorious Chitshakti that lies at the basis of all of them.

"If Chiti did not vibrate, one could not perceive an object. She reveals everything by Her existence. Thus the selfsame Chitshakti plays in all conditions, enters all things, and absorbs them all in Her being. She manifests as matter assuming the distinctions of space, time, and form. Every entity in this world is illumined by Her. In fact, all inner and outer objects are created, sustained, or dissolved within Her being. A Siddha, student or yogi experiences godhood by looking upon his psychic functions and outer sense organs as Her rays. As this knowledge dawns, his mind is blessed with peace and equanimity. In this state of natural *samadhi*, he directly perceives the indivisible God, who is the ground of the universe, underlying all forms and movements and every being. He sees the divine influence working continually in his various actions. Just as the characteristics of a fruit, like its shape, juice and smell, exist in a simple unity, similarly, external objects, their knowledge, and their knower are all one with the omnipresent God—their innermost basis; A Siddha student, by this vision, overcomes the notion 'I am imperfect', gaining the knowledge, 'I am perfect.' This is indeed spontaneous *samadhi*.

"In fact, all worldly appearance is nothing but Chiti. For a Siddha student, it does not contain any substance other than Chiti. Śrī Shankaracharya says: 'As through the ignorance of the real nature of a rope, the same rope may appear in an instant to be a snake, so also does Pure Consciousness appear in the form of the phenomenal universe without undergoing any change.' (Aparokshanubhuti, 44).

"In the same manner, the universe appears in Chiti Herself. 'The Vedas have clearly declared that Brahman alone is the substratum of all varieties of names, forms, and action.' (Aparokshanubhuti, 50).

"Ignorant fools, for lack of the knowledge imparted by the Guru, believe that the eyes see, the tongue speaks, the legs walk, and all other senses act independently. As a radio cannot work without electricity, so the eyes cannot see, or the tongue cannot speak without the conscious Soul. For this reason, Shankaracharya holds that all activities are possible only because of the existence of consciousness. The same Chiti speaks with the tongue, sees with the eyes, hears with the ears, and thinks with the mind. The realisation that one Universal Consciousness revels in the function of every part of a man's being, in every movement of the inner and outer universe, makes one tranquil, emancipating him from the distinction of unity and multiplicity. This is the state of natural *samadhi*..."

"...Thus the selfsame witness passes from *turyatita* to *turiya*, *turiya* to deep sleep,

deep sleep to dream, and dream to waking and *vice versa*. These states may differ from one another in different ways, but their witness is one and the same. According to Muktananda, the peace following this insight constitutes the state of natural *samadhi*.

"As long as one is ignorant of Chitshakti, he sees external objects as distinct from one another and as falling into innumerable categories according to their different names, forms, qualities, and functions. But when he becomes aware of Chitshakti through the awakening caused by the Guru, he realises that Chiti is one... The Pratyabhijnahridayam considers the whole world to be Chiti's sport: 'There is only one Soul, the conscious Soul, Lord Shiva; nothing else exists.' As this intuition calms the mind's fluctuations, one floats into the state of spontaneity. The Vijnanabhairava says: 'Knowledge of the perceiver and the perceived is common to all beings. But with yogis it is different. They are aware of them as one.'

"The same goddess Parashakti Chiti becomes the sensible universe as well as the individual soul, which considers itself to be different from it. The known includes the whole external world with all its objects, while the knower refers to the conscious, individual Self which knows them all. Unenlightened people split the knower and the known into countless divisions. But a yogi, a worshipper of Maha Yoga, blessed by the Guru's grace, having realized Chitshakti, becomes aware that both the perceiver and the perceived have sprung from Her and hence treats them equally. The quiescence attending this vision of equality is the spontaneous state of natural *samadhi*.

"The wise regard this universe as a play of Universal Consciousness a vibration of Chiti. They know that Chiti Herself appears as the world. The universe originating from Chiti is indeed Chiti despite its diverse forms. She underlies all wordly transactions. She Herself takes on myriad forms within Her own being and expands in various ways. The supreme peace accompanying this unity-awareness is Muktananda's state of natural *samadhi*."

Nothing But You Exists—The Universe Is Your Own Expression.

"Now I know fully that my own Soul is pervading everywhere as the universe. In fact, the cosmos does not exist, it never existed. For what we regard as the universe is only a conscious play of Chitshakti."

"He who knows all this glory of manifestation as his own, who realises the entire cosmos in his Self, is divine, even though thoughts may play in his mind.' (Isvara Pratyabhijna).

"Dear Siddha students. Fully realise this mantra by dwelling on it, reflecting on its meaning, and action in full harmony with its spirit. He who continually contemplates his identity with the assembly of thirty-six *tattvas* called the universe, which is directly perceived by the senses and is the support of his life, realizes that it is his own splendour. He will continue to dwell in his perfection. His divinity will remain undisturbed by his mental tendency that creates differences where there are none...

"O Siddha students. The universe belongs to you. You are its soul. Different levels of manifestation arise from you. You are perfect in your aspect as the Universal Spirit. Remain continuously aware that the universe is your own splendid glory. This is the Guru's command, the teaching of Parashiva, the Siddha mode of perception..."

"In fact, lack of awareness of the all-pervasive God is suffering; whereas, awareness is joy. Dear Siddha students. You are conscious, omnipresent, and perfect. The universe is not all distinct from you. What do not want to renounce? What are you running after to grasp? Nothing other than you exists in the world. You alone permeate the entire universe. You are the perfect, imperishable substance. There is no difference between you and the world. From the non-dual viewpoint, you alone fill the whole world. You are truly the tranquil, undiminishing, and pure Kundalini which is the light of consciousness. Ignorance never could and never will penetrate your innermost being. You are the sporting Universal Consciousness. You are neither *rajasic* nor *tamasic*. No alien element can influence you. You are attributeless with attributes, untained, the pure and playful Chiti who always maintains Her unity. Just as different ornaments like bangles, bracelets, and necklaces are nothing but gold, likewise, this universe originating from the unfolding of Parashiva's Śakti, is nothing but Chiti. The effect cannot run counter to the cause.

"My dear Siddha students. Whatever, you see anywhere is your own light. Nothing is other than you. You *pervade* all. The thought that you are here but not there should not be entertained. Continually contemplate that you are everywhere, the Self of all. None else except you exists in the world. The Shivasutra says: *Svashati prachayo'sya risvam* (The universe is the expansion of one's own Śakti). The illusion of the universe has arisen in you on account of your impurities. Worship Goddess Chiti. As your impurities are removed, you will discover that the world itself is Chiti's seat of repose. You are Pure Consciousness, Pure Being. The whole visible universe is your expression. Why do you complain for nothing? Everything is saturated with Chiti. You alone were real in the beginning, you are real now, and will remain real forever. You are free from birth and death. When there is no bondage, where is the question of deliverance? Chiti is the creator of all. How can you be the experiencer? You are Nityananda, present everywhere in your fullness. Do not allow your mind to be trapped or troubled by thoughts or imaginings. Merge them in Chiti, considering them to be Her vibrations. Understand that the object of meditation in the heart is all-pervading. The Soul is eternally perfect. Understand this and realise that the meditation is the object of meditation. When none but you exist, on what else will you meditate? See your own splendour stretching forth on all sides and fill your minds with peace."

"Possession and renunciation have meaning only so long as one is not fully realised. But on knowing the Truth, one finds that none that but one's own Self exists. One's own beauty pervades everywhere."

While commenting on the Shivasutras 1/19: *Lokananda Samadhisukham*, Baba says: "The bliss of loka is the bliss of *sāndhi*. Loka includes both subject and object, both the seer and the seen—conscious perceivers and the objects of perception, perceived by the outer and inner senses. Conscious of the relationship in time between the knower and the known, a Yogi, by the Yoga of knowledge, comes to realise that the seer is the seen and the seen is the seer. Normally when two people are looking at each other, each appears

as the object of perception to the other. But to the jnani, the subject appears as the object. Such awareness allows him to rest in the realisation of pure knowledge, 'I am Shiva.' He is the bliss. This is the highest *samadhi*, the perfect state of enlightenment. The Yogi who looks upon the universe as his own body drinks the nectar of ecstasy. He sees the vast variety of objects, shapes, and forms, the endless modifications around him, as diverse and yet one, for they all appear in his own Self trembling with the bliss. To him all the worlds are vibrations of the one Being, expansions of the one consciousness. This is the bliss of *loka* and the ecstasy of *samadhi*.

"Such a one does not have to retire to a cave or a desolate forest. He does not have to force his eyes to remain closed or suspend his breath to pass into *samadhi*. He is always in natural *samadhi*, while eating, drinking, sleeping, waking, playing, talking, bathing, enjoying, sense-pleasures, and meditating. He always lives in spontaneous joy. This is the bliss of *loka*, the ecstasy of *samadhi*.

When Baba was addressing the seekers at the Arcata Retreat in California (August 1975), he told them: "There are many, many techniques of meditation. But Lord Shiva says, 'Why do you go to so much trouble? Why can't you recognise the existence of the Truth in all these created objects without taking the trouble to analyse them part by part? If you recognize the Truth as it appears in all these forms, you can immediately experience the bliss of the self.' This experience is called the bliss of Lokananda *samadhisukham*, the bliss of the universe as it is. If you can recognise the presence of Lord Shiva in all these people, then you spontaneously experience bliss within. On the other hand, if you develop a feeling of ill will, contempt, and hatred for people and then sit for meditation, what kind of bliss, happiness, or joy can you experience? If you want to try to separate things and see what exists, you won't be able to find anything except Lord Shiva. Is there anything in this universe which is apart from Shiva? Is there any object which is other than Shiva? We go to all this trouble because we do not recognize this truth; therefore, we take all these pains to meditate and so on. It doesn't mean that I am against meditation because I myself ask you to meditate. Why are we doing all these things? Because we do not recognise the omnipresence of Lord Shiva, we are going to the trouble of meditating. The moment you recognise the omnipresence of Shiva in all things, then you realise the Truth of the Self instantly...

"There was a saint, a simple and good soul, who was approached by a disciple. The disciple requested the saint to give him instructions. The disciple's name was Swetaketu. The saint addressed him, 'O Swetaketu, what can I tell you? All that exists is nothing but the Self. Just as water itself solidifies and becomes ice, similarly, the very same Self appears as the universe. There is nothing but that Self. You are that Self; recognise this and you will know everything.' Swetaketu bowed down to the master and went away. But he didn't understand exactly what the Guru had meant. He said, 'What did the Guru say? Everything is the Self?' He was wondering what kind of instruction the Guru had given him. 'I am puzzled because he didn't ask me to grow a beard or concentrate on this or that; he simply asked me to meditate on the Self because I am That.'

"If one has a keen intellect, the power of understanding, and discrimination, what

kind of *sadhana* or practices does he need ? What kind of practice is necessary to recognise the already-existing Truth in the form of the Self ? What is necessary in order to recognise and to experience the Self, which constantly exists inside the heart and enables the heart, the senses, the mind, and the subconscious to function ? How much time will it take to recognise this Principle existing within ? This is just a matter of understanding and recognition. It is so simple that it takes only a fraction of a moment. On the other hand, if a person does not have this power of understanding, after many lifetimes he cannot recognise it.

“Once Lord Rama was asking his Guru, ‘O Lord, how much time does it take to experience the Self?’ The Guru replied, ‘O Rama, it doesn’t take even a snap of the fingers. It is a wonder that many ages have passed and people have not recognised it. Many ages have passed and the Self has not been seen. It is so easy and at the same time so difficult. For one who is simple-hearted, truthful, devoted to the Guru, and who has unwavering faith in God, it won’t even a fraction of a second or a snap of the fingers.’ The experience is right within the heart. Since we don’t concentrate on this already-existing Principle but rather occupy ourselves constantly with other things, therefore, we are not able to experience it.”

22

Tarka-Logic

The earliest Tamil reference to logic associated with Śaivism, occurs in the *Puranānūru*, an early Sangam work, assigned to the beginning of the Christian era. The passage incidentally occurs in a verse addressed to a Brahmin, *Viṇṇan Tāyan* of *Kaṇḍiyyagotra*, hailing from *Pūnjāṭṭūr* in *Cholanāḍu*. The ancestors of this *Viṇṇan Tāyan* are praised as men of great learning and performers of Vedic sacrifices. While referring to them the verse says that the forefathers of *Viṇṇan Tāyan* exposed “with the doctrine of twenty-one sub divisions, the falsehood (appearing in the garb of doctrines) of men who disputed the ancient treatise that enshrined the tenets of the four *Vedas* and the six *angas* recited constantly by the Most Ancient God (with high *śaśānakaṣa Śiva*)”. The ancient commentator on this verse, says “the work with twenty one sub divisions refers to 21 different *yagnas* (*Velvi-Puram* 166).

Nanru āyanta Nūnir caḍai
Mudu mudalvan Vāy poladu
Onru purinda Iriraṇḍin
Āṇṇarita oru mudu nūl
Ihal Kaṇḍor mihaḷ cāymār
meyyenna Poyyumarundu
poy ōrādu Meykolinī
Mūvēlu turaiyum muthiru poliya
urai cāl cirappin uravōr maruka

Corr: 21 *Velvithuraiyālum Kurraiṇirāḍa ceydu muditta. Mūvēl turai enpaḍarku irupattoṟu*
kuṟuppaṭṭa tarkka nūlenru uraiṇṇinum amaiyum

Thus, he himself adds, that it can also be interpreted as “the *Tarka* doctrine with 21 subdivisions”. It seems to us the later meaning is the most appropriate in the context, since the effective recourse in intellectual disputations is logic (*Tarka*) and not *yagnas*. The commentator also mentions, that men who challenged the Saiva doctrine were Buddhists and the like.

The commentator takes the term “*Oru mudu nūl* i.e. one ancient text” as *Veda*.

It would be more appropriate to take it to mean ‘the one ancient text based on four *Vedas* and six *angas*’ expounded by the Śiva’ and such a treatise must obviously be a Śaiva work. Śaiva tantra of *Āgama* different from the four *Vedas* and six *angas*. That two or three centuries later the Tamil epic *Maṇimēkhalai* refers to Śaivavādin would add additional support to our stand. It would appear thus as early as the beginning of the Christian era, the Śaiva Śāstra made use of the *Tarka* to establish its philosophic concepts.

That the *Tarka* system was well established in Tamil land from the beginning of the Christian era, is also known through other works. The *Malaipaḍukaḍām*, one of the ten idyls, calls the logician “*Vāḍi*” and mentions that he used his fingers frequently to count the points he gained in disputations, *Vāḍi kai anna*. Nacṇārkkintiyār the commentator appropriately takes, “*Vāḍi*” as a logician. *Tarkkaṇi Kūrukiravan*. According to the *Maduraikkānci*, another poem of the Ten Idyls, there were learned men of different persuasions, expounding their faith, logically in the presence of the king, in the royal court. The learned commentator Nacṇārkkintiyār, interprets this as “great men expounding *Tarka*, in the King’s presence.”

There are differing views on the date of *Silappadhikāram*, and *Maṇimēkhalai*, the twin Tamil epics. The view that they are post Sangam works, to be assigned to the period between 3rd and 4th century A.D. seems to be nearer the mark. In the *Silappadhikāram* there is a reference to a Brahmin Parāsara, an expert in logic, who came to the royal court of the Chera. The text says that he achieved “victory of the tongue i.e. success through logic”. The commentator, Adiyarkkūnallār, says “he was the victorious, through *Tarka*” *Tarkkaṇi Colli Nāverriyai Uḍaiyōṇṭi*. The victory is called *Pārppanavāhai* i.e. Brahmanical conquest. Incidentally the *purananūru* verse, addressed to Viṇṇan Tayan is also called (the literary form) a *Pārppanavāhai*.

The *puṇḍarīka Vēṇbāṇḍalai*, an early Tamil work, refers to this literary composition *pārppanavāhai* meaning ‘Brahmanical conquest’

Kelviyāl Sirappeydiyānai
Velviyāl Viral mihuttarṇu.

i.e. to sing the conquest, through *yagna*, of one who attains eminence through learning is called “Brahminical victory”. The same work cites an example which may be rendered as “one who has mastered the *Vedas*, conquers through blemishless dissertation” i.e. *Tarka*. Without going into the details, I would like to stress the point, that a learned man conquers through intellectual or philosophical argumentation and not through *yogas*. Hence the term *Velvi* stands for *Jñāna Velvi*. So the literary form called *pārppanavāhai* i.e. “Brahminical conquest” should stand for *Tarka*. Mention has been made earlier, that Arumpada Uṇṭiyāstriyar, the commentator on, *Silappadhikāram* takes the term Brahminical conquest—*Pārppanavāhai* to mean *Tarka*. Verse 305 of *Purananūru* termed as *Pārppanavāhai*, also speak of a Brahmin’s speech, for which he gains gifts. Thus the emphasis seems to

be Brahmin's victory through his speech.

Payalaip Pārppān
Ellivantu nillādu pukku
Colliya colle cilave Adarkee
Eniym cippum nārri
Mānvindi yānaiyum
Maṇimalaintanave

In the *Manimekhalai*, followers of different religions are called with the generic ending *Vādins*, as *Alavaivādin*, *Brahmavādin*, *Nilgaṇṭhavādhins* and so on. Referring to the Śaivite the text calls him *Śaivavādin*. In all these cases, the term *Vādins* denote that the followers based their conclusions on sound logic.

Saint Appar spent considerable part of his life with the Jains, mastering their doctrines. He was obviously well-versed in logic, in one place he says that he wasted his time in *tarka*, while the path of penance remained freely before him, *Tavam irukka avam ceydu Tarukkinēn*. At another place he says that he considered *Pratyakṣa* alone as established fact *Kāṇḍale Karuttāy ninaittēn*.

Appar was also aware of *Śabda Pramāṇa* when he mentioned *col pramāṇa*.

Frequent references are met with, to the six *angas*, and four *Vedas* in Appar's hymns. The term six *śaṁayas*, or *Śaṁaya* is interpreted differently at different times, but in a number of instances, it includes *Nyāya*. "For those" says Appar "who believed in one of the Six systems, the Supreme Lord Śiva, appears as none other than their own ideal". This statement of Appar is in tune with the Āgamic statement.

यै यै यत्परीक्ष्यैव तत्त्वं उच्यते बुधैः
तत्त्वं स एव देवेशः शिव संज्ञः सनातनः

says *Ajitāgama*.

Saint Appar also points out that mere intellectual jugglery won't lead any near Godhood. 'Of what use is there by becoming a *bhalla* and listening to *Sāstras*, without adoring Lord Śiv? It is pure and simple devotion, that leads to Divine.

Jñānasambandar, the younger contemporary of Appar makes a pointed reference to *tarka Sāstra*, and its mundane nature.

tarukkamaruṁ samānorodu
Tarkka Sāttirattavar col
Idukkam varu moli kelādu
Isaniaye ēttuminkal

"Don't pay heed to the preachings of the haughty *Samanas* the followers of *Tarka sāstra*, for their worlds would bring only suffering. Adore Lord Īsa." It is a clear reflection of the Upaniṣadic saying *naishā tarkēna matirāpaneya* in *Kāthopaniṣad*. Sankara commenting

on this says, that the logician—*Tārkika*, would explain the supreme truth according to his own imagination and not based on scriptures. The *Tārkika* is an “*anaganajña*” and his exposition cannot bring forth the Supreme truth. नैषा तर्केन मतिरापनीया

The earliest reference to *Tarka*, in the context of Śaivism, in epigraphy of Tamilnad, occurs in an inscription of the Pallava ruler Mahendavikrama (590-630 A.D.) in the upper rock cut cave at Thiruchirappalli. Before taking up this epigraph, it may be advantageous, to refer to Mahendra's love of logic, from his own composition, *Mattavilāsa Prahasana*, a Sanskrit farce which is enacted to this day by the *Chakkiyars* in Kerala. According to tradition the benedictory stanza alone which is so rich in this meaning would be interpreted through dance and gesticulations for seven days. Without going into the details, it is sufficient to state that it could be interpreted in terms of logic as well, by the usage *nishpratibaddha bodha mahimā*.

In the body of the text also, Mahendra exhibits his love of logic. Three instances may be cited, the word *Tarkayāmi* is often employed by him.

Making use of pun Mahendra brings in the system of logic, in the dialogue at one place. The context is a Buddha Bhikshu is accused by a Kāpālīka of stealing his liquor bowl. There is also the Pāsupata mediator at the site.

Bhikshu: “what reason is there to suppose that a monk, who follows the precepts of the Buddha will take a liquor bowl?”

Pāsupata: But one adducing mere reason could not establish the fact, by simple assertion.

Kapālīn: “when it is practically seen mere statement of reason is of no purpose”. This translation doesn't do justice to the original which reads.

शाक्यभिक्षु—हेतुवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्वन् भिक्षुः सुरपात्रं गृह्णाति इति को अत्र हेतुः कपाली—प्रत्यक्षे हेतुवचनं निरर्थक

The whole is in terms of logic. Please not the use of words, *Vacanani pramāṇam* and *Kohetuh* in the Bhikshu's question. The Pasupata uses the words *hetuvādin* and *Pratignā*, the Kāpālīka states that *hetuvacana* is of no use in *Pratyaksha*.

In another place also Mahendra puns on the word *Nyāya Vritti*, i.e. righteous path and also, the path of logic, shows his partiality to logic.

कुतश्चित् अपि न्यायवृत्तेः मयं नास्ति ।

The inscription under reference is found in a cave temple at Thiruchi excavated by Mahendravarman. The temple is called *Iṣṭanagrha* in inscription. Other verses in the temple show clearly that it was consecrated to Lord Śiva. The verse reads,

गुणमर नामानि राजनि अनेन सिम्नेन सिम्बिनि ज्ञानं ।
प्रतयां चिराय लोके विपश्चवृत्तेः परावृत्तं ।।

I have commented on this verse, in Dr. V. Raghavan, 60th birthday felicitation volume. The learned professor, Raghavan, agreed with me. The terms employed in the verse—*Lingena*, *Lingini*, *Vipaksha Vritteh Parāvrillam Jñānam*, etc. show, that it is intended to give clearly two meanings, one in terms of adoration of *Linga*, and the other in terms of *anumāna*. The first meaning is that the King became a devotee of Śiva through the *Linga*, established there and returned from a hostile faith. The second meaning is that the King is *Anumāna*. Among several titles appearing for him, in the same temple one reads *Anumāna*. There are differences of opinion among scholars in the interpretation of this verse. However, my interpretation gains further support from Śaivagama tradition cited below.

Some of the Śaivāgamas have a section of *anumāna*. They insistently use the terms *linga* and *lingin*, instead of *heru* and *sādliya*; for even in such usage, they recall Lord śiva adored through *Linga*, for example the *Suprabhedāgama* says.

‘लिङ्गात् लिङ्गिनः ज्ञानं अनुमानं इति स्मृतम्

Obviously this Śivāgama usage was known to Mahēnda, who clearly employs it to give double meaning. It also shows, that Śaivites had their own tradition of *anumāna*.

The term “*Siddhānta*” is generally employed, to any school of thought, when its philosophy is established through logic, by meeting the *Purvapaksha* with counter arguments, and establishing one’s own principles. That the Śaiva school had established itself on such strong logical foundation long before the 7th Century A.D. is also known from the use of the word “*Śaiva Siddhānta mārga*” in an inscription of Rājasimha at Kanchi. The verse occurs in the Rājasimheśvara temple now called Kailasanātha.

विदितबहुनयः शैवसिद्धान्तमार्गे
श्रीमान् अत्यन्तकामः सत्सकलमतः”

Rajasimha was wellversed in *Śaiva siddhānta mārga* and that as a result his *malas* were removed is pointed out in this verse. The same ruler, assumed several titles among which the ones *Āgamapramāṇa* and *Āgamānusāri* are significant. They clearly show the king was a follower of Āgama, both in his personal life and in his building activities.

There are specific references to Āgamas in the hymns of the *Tēvīraṁ* saints.

Tohuttuvan arumurai angam
Āgaman Vahuttavan—Thiruvirkolam.
Arusamayangalum virumbi
adi peni Āgaman mikka kōruṁ—Kokarnam

says Jñānasambandar. When Appar sings that the Lord is the embodiment of *Mantra* and *Tantra*, he means the *Vedas* and *Āgamas*. These are references to Āgamas in the 7th

Century. Early in the 8th century Saint Sundaramūrti refers to *Āgamasilas* Śiva teaching āgamas to Devas and the recitation of stotras by the Āgamic followers.

Āgamasilark-karūṇaṁ nalkuṁ peṁṁṁṁṁ
Āgamangal Arivar tollirangal vīraviya veda oli-
Anḍanar tamakku Āgamanūl moliyum aḍi-
 And Saint Mānikkavacakā in the 9th Century calls Śiva himself as Āgama.

Āgamam āhi nīṇṇu aṁṁippāṁ tāt vāṁṁ

In the 10-11th Century A.D. Rājarāja, the great, refers in his inscription to the Āgamic followers performing worship in the temple at Thirukkollur.

Nāṁṁṁṁṁ terindu nāṁṁṁṁṁ Unarṁṁṁṁ
Arccanā vidhiyodu Āgamattolil
Mūven peyarudaiya muppiri nūlār
Piriyā taṁmai perum tiru uḍaiyadu
Tingal Muḍiyār Aḍiyar Aḍiyomēṁṁṁ
Tirindivar Sīvajñānāc ceydi Uḍaiyāre

The role of Āgamas in the Śaiva temple movement could be demonstrated through the centuries. Prof. Das Gupta holds the most of the Āgamas were completed by the 9th Century. Most of the āgamas are divided into four parts as *Carya*, *Kriya*, *Yoga* and *Jñāna*; the later two parts mainly deal with the philosophy of the respective school. Neither all the Āgamic texts have survived with four parts nor all the available ones are accessible to us in print. Almost all the texts give their origin at the beginning. Some of the Āgamas incorporate *Tarka* or *Anumāna* in the text for example the *Suprabhedagama* defines *Pratyakṣa* *Anumāna* and *Sabda* as:

अज्ञादिकरणैः दृश्यं प्रत्यक्षं तद् इत्येव्यते
 लिङ्गात् लिङ्गिनो ज्ञानं अनुमानं इति स्मृतम्
 आप्तोक्ति वचनैः गम्यं शब्द एव उदाहृतम्

Paushkarāgama, *Siddha tantra Raurava*, *Matangapāramesvara*, *Mrgendra*, *Mālinī Vijayottara* and *Kirana* are some of Āgamas dealing with *Anumāna* as in instrument of cognition. The inferential cognition, according to Śaivites is the manifestation of knowledge of *Chid-Śakti*, inspired by *Śivasakti*.

A vast body of work is available in Āgamas on *anumāna*. Unfortunately the Śaiva *anumāna* system has never been given its due place by Indian Philosophers in recent times. For example the *Paushkarāgama* has the following verses.

The *Paushkara* accepts five members of the syllogism as *pratijñā*, *hetu*, *dhrishtānta*, *upamāya* and *Nigama*.

The *Siddhānta* divides *Paksha* into *Śvapaksha*, *Samapaksha* and *Parapaksha*.

There is text *Jñānānta Paribhāṣā*, which has a long chapter on *anumāna*. Mention has been made of the Śaivas, using the terms *linga* and *liṅga* to denote *hetu* and *Sādhyā*. There is another context in which, *Tarka* assumes greater significance among Śaivas. Some schools of Śaivas accept the eightfold path of Yoga—*ashtanga yoga*, while there are others who hold yoga as a sixfold path—*Shadanga yoga*. The later school include *Tarka* as one of the six *angas* of yoga. For example the Matanga Pāramesvarāgama, accepts the *shandanga yoga* the six *angas* of yoga. The six *angas* being *pratyāhara*, *dhyāna*, *Prāṇāyama*, *dhārma*, *Tarka* and *Samādhi*. The same is followed by *Raurava*, *Mrgendra*, *Mālini Vijayottara* etc. The *Kīrtanāgama* also accepts the *ashtāṅga yoga* concept, but omits *Tarka* and in its place includes *āsana*. It is well known that the Kashmiri Śaiva School places great emphasis on *Sat Tarka*.

23

Tevaram of Appar

Śiva is the cosmos, the beginning and end of it, and the cluster of five elements. He is the most Ancient who populated the *bhūlōka*, *bhuvārlōka*, *Suparlōka* and also the *bhūtas* (elements). He encompasses the *bhuvanas* and appears as innumerable lives. He created the seven worlds, seven seas and the seven deluges. He remains in *anāgocara*. He is the *Axis-Mundi* that supports the skyroof of the Devas. He is the embryo of the *Pātāla Loka*. He remained the primordial, who existed before the creation of *Kāla*, days, aeons, and manifested as three, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. He is father and mother of the seven *lokas*. He extends beyond ten Aeons. He is the beloved mother of all living creatures and also the insentient. He is the first among the three Gods. He manifests *Māya* (Rudra), Viṣṇu, Brahmā, *Bhūmi*, *Desa*, the eight directions, *Tirtha*, the body and the soul in it. He gave birth to all the world. He is the very world. He is Parama and Brahmā. He is sun, moon, heaven, land, water, air, the eight *bhuvanas* supported by snakes, the directions and light. He is heaven and earth, the *jyoti* (light, sun moon, the beginning and end, water and air, the abodes, eight directions and light).

He is water, fire, earth, the sky, the air and the rays. He is the nectar of the world. He is the planet and their influence over men. He is water, fire, land, ether, sun and is God of all gods, who dances here and there. He manifests as *Sūrya*, *Yama*, *Varuna*, *Soma*, *Agni*, *Nṛṛiti*, *Vāyu* and *Īsana* (*divya Śanta*). He is earth, fire, water, air, the *niyama*, the controlling principle, half, one, two, three and *Paramāṇu*, the parts, light, darkness, taste, juice *moksha*, the beginning and end of *moksha*. He created the two fires (sun and moon) rolling in the sky. His is the form of the vast expansive sky, *ākāśamūrti*. He is the Supreme sky, *Paramākāśa*. He is *Tamas* (darkness) and light. The three fires constitute his eyes. He manifests as the eight and two (10) directions. He is the world that stood as a village. He is the shadow cast by the clouds. The seven deluges are he. He is the Northern Meru.

The North *Kailāsa* is his abode. He looks like a silver peak on a golden mountain. He is the embodiment of *tirthas*, the sacred waters. He is the whirling water and the whirl in it. He is floods and the banks.

Lord Śiva has neither birth nor death. He pervades the universe without birth or death. He is inside and outside. He is with form and without form (*rūpa* and *arūpa*). He is the past, present and future. He is one but goes by several names. Pleasure and pain, birth

and death were created by him. He created suffering, malady, the life, the redeeming path for the life, *Amṛaganas*, the *Vedas*, hate, desire, love, greed (*Kāma* and *Lobha*) controlling path, renunciation and the feet adored by good people. He is confusion and clarity. He is the mind and the calmness of mind (*chitta* and *Śiva*). He is the birth, the bondage, and the abode of release (*bandha* and *moksha*) to the whole world which has form and life. He is the beginning and end, the start and terminal. He creates all roots of actions.

Lord Śiva is *Nirmala* (pure). But for those who cannot comprehend his nature, he appears in many forms. He is pearl, crystal, ruby (*mānikkaṁ*), and red coral. He is diamond, ruby, *mānikka*, and pearl. His locks of hair are red like coral. He is *Purāṇa* the most Ancient. He resounds auspices (Śiva). *parāpara* is his name. He is *Aṣṭamūrti*. He is *Acala*. He is *Dakṣiṇa*, *Dharma*, *Tattva* and the Supreme Yogin, *Parama Yogi*. In spite of remaining united with his consort, he is a Yogin. Even in union with his consort, he has conquered his senses. He is the inner meaning of the *dharma*s he taught to the sages while seated under a *Vata* tree. He is the flame of knowledge.—*Jñānakolundu*. He is arts and knowledge of arts. He is the import of the six *śaṁayas*. He is the mind of those who recite the *mantras*. He is the Guru entering the mind of the individual. He is literature, music and dance. He is *Śṛāyaṁbhū*, who stood as *Sāmveda*. His feet are the *Jñāna*, the meaning of the *Jñāna*, the *Vedas* of the *Vaidikas*, and the Vedic sacrifices. He is the faculty of appreciation in music. He is the Lord of *Jñāna*—*Jñāna Nāyakan*. He is light in the homa sacrifice. He is the fire and also the *havis* offered in it. He is the *Tattva* remaining beyond the comprehension of any. He is beyond the comprehension of even the *Vedas*. He serves as a boat to cross the great ocean of knowledge.

Lord Śiva is the embodiment of pleasure—*bhōga*. He is the delight in copulation. He is the great medicine for the world. He is the seed, sprout and root, flower, the colour of the flower, the fragrance of the flower, the juice in the fruits, the drum, the sound of the drum, the melody in music and the glee in songs, day, week and plane and the germ before the world and the very nectar. He is red and white, night and day, front and back, expansion and contraction, mobile and immobile, beginning and, past and future, with form and without form, birth and death, male and the female to him, the boy and the aged, man and woman, father and son. He is *Ārya* and *Kumāra*. He is the *Āryan* and the *Tamilian*. He is the mad amongst the madmen.

Lord Śiva wipes out rebirth. He destroys the innumerable cycles of birth. He bears the suffering of his devotees. He is the destroyer of bad deeds. He is the purity of the pure path. He is the honey. He is the honey that springs forth from the lotus heart of the devotees. He is indeed Śiva the giver of Supremely blissful path—*Śivagati*.

The *Kamika* divides knowledge into *parajñana* and *aparajñana*. *Śivajñana* is considered *Para*—the supreme knowledge while Vedic knowledge is called *Aparajñana*. Both the knowledge, *para* and *Apara* are said to have emanated from *Sadaśiva*. All the *āgamas* constitute the body of Lord Śiva. Without *Mantra*, there is no rite. Emanating from the Supreme *Nada* is *Mantra*. From *Nada* comes *bindu* and from the later, the initial *Śvara*. The *Kamika* holds the sixteen vowels as life *jīva* and the 34 consonants as body.

स्वराः षोडश जीवाख्याः क्वादयो देहवन्मताः

Sastras are composed with these *jīva* and body. The *Kanika* also divides letters into nine *Vargas*, 'a', 'ka', 'cha', etc. They are also called *Mātrkas*.

शक्तेः नाद अभवत् बिन्दुः अक्षर मातृका ततः
मूर्तिः आद्या महेशस्य सर्ववाच्यानुयायिनी

From the *Vyomas Rupa*, who is *Parasiva* was produced Sound, from Sound emanated *akshara*, and from *Akshara*—*Sabdarasi*. These are fifty in total divided into nine *Vargas*—*Nava vargas* as *a, ka, cal, la, pa, ya, sa, ha*. The sixteen vowels act as seeds *bijas* and the 34 consonants as *Yonis*. All the treatises *grantharasis* appear from these fifty syllabic sounds.

The Reality manifests in two forms as the Supreme *Parabrahmā* and b) as *Sabda brahma*, *Para Brahmā* who is beyond thought and word, is *Parasiva*. The *Sabda Brahma* is *Sadaśiva*. *Sadaśiva* through his five faces expounded the *Sāstras*. If the world is not illumined by the light of *Sabda* (words), it would remain drowned in the darkness of ignorance.

यदिशब्दमयं ज्योतिः दीप्यते न जगत्स्वतः
अज्ञानेन अन्य तमसा भवेत् अस्तं गतं जगत् ।

The *Tantras* are the very body of Śiva, *Śivārūpam idam Tantram*. The *Ajitagama* holds all treatises while include even *Bauddha*, and *Vishnu Tantras* in the form of Śiva.

• चत्वारश्च तथा वेदाः रहस्येन वदन्ति तम् ।
सिद्धान्ते भूततन्त्रे च वामे स्रोतसि दक्षिणे ॥
धिरवे च तथा अन्येषु पाशुपतादिषु ।
विष्णु तन्त्रे च बौद्धे च तथा दिक्पाल दर्शने ॥
अष्टादश पुराणेषु षडङ्गेषु अपरेषु च ।
योगशास्त्रेषु सर्वेषु न्याय वैशेषिकादिषु ॥
यैः यैः यत्परीक्ष्यैव तत्त्वमित्युच्यते बुधैः ।
तत्तत् स एव देवेशः शिव संज्ञः सनातनः ॥

The *Ajita* accepts *ashtāṅga yoga*, the eightfold division of Yoga.

Most of the *Āgamas* are divided into four parts as *carya, kriya, yoga* and *jīāna*, the later two parts generally deal with the philosophical aspects of the respective Śaiva school. Neither all the *Agamic* texts with the four parts have survived, nor all the available texts published. In some of the texts, the origin of the text and the *mantra* are dealt with which give an insight into the concept of *Sabda pramāna*, according to that

school. The entire *Vidyāpāda* of *Matangaparameśvarāgama* with the commentary of Rāmakāṇṭha has appeared in print recently. This text shows how far the philosophy of the Śaivas has developed far earlier to 10th Century. The Śaiva school also divides philosophical notion into three broad categories as *Ātma tattva*, *Vidyā tattva* and *Śiva tattva*.

The *Rauravāgama* deals with *Sriṣṭi Krama*, *Sivatattva*, *Tantrāntara* etc. Referring to Mantras, Raurava says that there are countless *mantras*, as there are countless Rudras, Yakshas, Mahesvaras etc. The *mantras* can also be in regional language and are absolutely valid.

देश भाषा निबद्धाः च दिव्याक्षर पदेः युताः

सर्वज्ञाः सर्वगाः शुद्धाः सर्व सर्वज्ञ भविताः

3.v. 26

The *Matanga Paremeśvara Āgama*, accepts the *Śhāṇḍaga* system for the Yoga. The six *angas* according to this text are, *pratyahāra*, *dhyāna*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Dhāraṇa*, *Tarka* and *Samādhi*. *Tarka* is included as one of the *angas* of Yoga. The same is followed by the *Rauravāgama*, *Mrgendra*, *Mālini Vijayottara* etc. The *Kiraṇāgama*, also holds that Yoga consists of six *angas*, but omits *Tarka* and in its place adds *āsana*. Other Śaivāgamas accept the eight fold path. Inference, not opposed to Āgamic tenets is called *Tarka* says the *Amṛtāṇḍopāniṣad*.

Pati-Paśu-Pāśa

The Śaivasiddhānta philosophy as developed in the Tamil country from about the 13th century and which is now popularly called 'Tamil Śaivism', makes use of a vast vocabulary to express its metaphysical concepts. Appar makes use of almost all these words in his works. The following words which are fundamentals to the later Siddhānta school, are employed freely by Appar which indicate that a highly developed system of Śaivasiddhānta school was prevalent in Tamilnad even before the 7th Century A.D. and that what was codified by Meikāṇḍār in the 13th Century was only an extension of what remained earlier? Thus the following words as employed by Appar may be noted.

Pati

Paśu

Pāśa

Malas (plural)

Ātma

Jīva

Śiva

Manas

Buddhi

Ahaṁkāra

Citta

Māya-birth

Karma

Pāśam aruttal (*Pāśaccheda*)

Bandham

Mutti (*Vīdu*) (*Mukti* Skt.)

Sadāśiva

Tatpara

Jñānamūrti
Tattvas

R.G. Bhandarkar referring to Tamil Śaivism of the 7th Century A.D. aptly states that there must have been some *darsana* or system of philosophy.

Pati

Śiva is the supreme god, Mahādeva who assumed the title Tatpara, Parāpara, Śiva Parama, Devadeva and Sadāśiva all terms used by Appar. He is Pasupati, Adhipati and Samkara. There is none greater than Him. He is the father and mother of the universe. He is the God who appeared without birth. He consort is *manonmani* who is His part and through whom He acts in the universe out of grace. Though She is his part, and he acts through her, by Himself is not affected by the action and remains pure, which is described poetically, that though resides in her company, He is a *yogi* who has controlled his senses. He is the *Kāraṇa*, the cause of the universe, the lofty cosmic pillar, the *axis-mundi* that supports the expansive sky.

Supreme beyond the Trinity

He is *Māyan* (Rudran), Viṣṇu and Brahmā. He is the father of Brahmā. He is the transcendental deity, remaining beyond creation of time (*kāla*), day and aeons and manifested as the Trinity, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. He created Brahma, Viṣṇu and the devas. He is the past, present and future. He created and two cosmic lights, sun and moon that revolve in the sky. He is *Ākāśamūrti*, of the form of sky and also the Supreme heaven *paramākāśa*, he emanated as the directions, and the presiding deities of the directions, Sun, Yama, Varuna, Soma, Agni, Nṛiti, Vāyu and Īśāna (*divya, śānta*). Śiva is Ravi (sun, moon, heaven, earth, water, air, the eight *bhuvanas* supported by snakes, the directions and light. He pervades the *Aṇḍagōcara* and remains out of it. Water, fire, land, ether, sun and the God of all Gods who dance (function) here and there. He expanded without birth or death. He expanded as the seven worlds, manifested as innumerable souls and illuminated them. He is the world that remains beyond the *pralaya* the deluge. He himself is the *Pralaya*. He remains as One and the first of the three worlds. He is the final abode of all the earthly beings, the *Vediyas* and all heavenly Gods.

He is the light and two directions and also presiding deities of the directions. He is the Lord whose existence cannot be doubted, *Asankhya*, but who dispels the doubts of the followers of alien faith. He is with and without form (*rūpi* and *nirūpi*). For those who cannot comprehend his nature He appears in many forms. He is one but goes by several names. He created suffering and malady, the life and the redeeming *pathi* for the lives. He is the birth, bondage and the *moksha* to the entire world that have form and life. He enters the body and the soul that reside in it. He created birth and death, pleasure and pain. He is the beginning and end of *moksha*. He wipes out rebirth and also the innumerable cycles

of birth. He is the foremost to destroy the root cause of suffering. He resides in the fire which itself is a lotus? The Āgamas refer to Vāigsvara Śiva, who is invoked in fire, as seated on a lotus. Śiva is *niti*, earth, fire, water, air, the *niyama* the controlling principle, half, one, two, three and *paramadhus*, the *pais*, light, darkness, taste, juice and *moksha*.

Appar suggests the process of manifestation of Lord. He becomes the immobile and mobile, earth, water, fire, air, *ākāśa*, the microcosms and the macrocosm, the unique, the most easily approachable by the devotees *tatpara* and *Sadāśiva*. He and me. The order in which the words are mentioned, and the use of the word *Tatpara* and *Sadāśiva*, seems to indicate the *Suddha māyā* aspect of Śiva as *Tatpara*, and the *Asuddhamāyā* aspect as *Sadāśiva*. Similarly the usage *Tāmunāy* and *Yānumāy* i.e. Himself and me, indicate the two essential nature of the supreme, who remains Himself without being affected, and manifests as the Soul *Yāmunāy* me

Lord Śiva is the God of Gods, *Devarkku Devarām seltar*. Śiva is adored by Amaras, Devas, Yakshas, Vidyādhara, the twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, Ekādasa Rudras, the two Asvins, Brahmā and Viṣṇu; the eighteen *ganas*; the *siddhas*, *kanyas*, *Devas*, *Dānavas*, *pitar* (Madcaps) and Vedic Brahmins; Naraṇa, Brahmā, Indran, Ganesa (*Vāraṇam*) and Kumāra, the Vedas; Indra, Devas and Rishis; Kinnaras and Baktas. The Devas adore Him by singing the *vedas*. The Bhūtas sing and dance. Āditya, Agni Soma, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Budhan worship him. His sacred feet are beautified by crowns of Deva's crown, *Makutakoṭi*; the Munis adore him, Mākālī, Sūrya, Sankha-Chakaradhara (Viṣṇu), Caturmukha (Brahmā) and Agastya did *archana*. Kumāra and Vigna Vināyaka, Brahmā and Viṣṇu worship Him. Daṇḍi (Tanḍu or Caṇḍi) Kuṇḍodara, Brīngi Rti, Nandi, Sanku Kaṇṇan, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Bhūta, sing his glory.

All the Gods and Viṣṇu and Brahmā jointly prayed to Him with *Śrūtis*, did *abhiśhēka* with pure waters, recited several *stotras*, offered incense, and addressed Him "Lord we are ready to serve you" and He bestowed grace on them. This is a clear statement that all other gods are subordinate to Him and carry out His orders and that too for a limited time (*Kurēvāl*). He is adored by the eighteen Ganas. All the Devas are said to offer flowers at His sacred feet, dancing and singing the Vedas. The thirty-three Devas and others extol Him as the most auspicious Śiva and as Jñānamurti.

Paśu

The nature of *Paśu*, the soul is clearly detailed throughout. The individual soul has neither beginning nor end but is eternal and yet is not its own master. Only the supreme Pasupati can bestow grace and remove the cycle of birth. *Paśu* is different from the body and also power of comprehension which is God. The Śaiva system recognises the supreme immutable, changeless Reality called *paraśiva*, designated by Appar as *Tatpara* and the other Godhood *Apara*, called by Appar as *Sadāśiva*. The *Tatpara* remains his own self while *Sadāśiva* is responsible for the individual souls. So it is Lord who appears as You and I. The birth in this body is *Māyā*. The *Punya* and *Pāpa* called *iruvinaḥ*

(the two acts or fruits of actions). The individual should overcome the *Ahamkāra* (*Āṇava*) that thinks that it can rule the world with the help of the body, an object, which is incapable of bearing even the slightest suffering.

Appar seems to have referred to *Āṇava mala* but says the delusion (*Māyā*) is beyond the comprehension of the self. The rebirth of *Paśu*, as well as the several cycles of birth and death of the soul are terminated by the Supreme. The root cause of the suffering is destroyed by His grace. The real nature of the self is revealed only when the Lord cuts asunder the *bandha*, bondage. The results of past actions are removed, the accumulated sins (*pāpas*) are terminated and the path of devotion (*Bakti*) is pointed out. There are innumerable souls. The soul is fettered by *mala* and takes birth in this body. When the *duḥkha* assails the Devotee, the Lord sees to the end of it by bestowing grace ■ reference to *Duḥkṛānta*. The evil *karma* will be liquidated and the soul will at in the glorious *Śivagati*. The soul is beginningless and endless and yet it is not its own master. Only the Lord can annihilate the cycle of births and bestow grace. The soul is essentially of the nature of Śiva but it does not realise its own nature. It is the Lord who shows him his true nature and also the redeeming path the *Śivāneri* also called *Śivagati*.

In a significant hymn of ten verses Appar refers to the temptations offered to the five senses, each verse corresponding to the five organs of perception. In the first verse the *Punya* and *iruvina* (*pāpa*) are mentioned. The second refers to the *panca mahā bhūtas* (the five great elements). The third seems to allude to the organs of actions *Karmendriyas*. The *Panca tanmātras* taste, colour, touch, hearing and smell and their respective sense organs, *Jñānendriya* are listed in the fourth verse; the fifth refers to the five feelings of hatred, attachment, ruin, scheming and enjoyment; the sixth related to pride, pleasure, anger, stingence and patience; the seventh deals with distress, sin, sorrow, desire and disgust; the eighth has as its subject of description, poverty, prosperity, anger, joy and dislike and the ninth refers to the five senses.

In another verse the import of which is somewhat obscure, Appar speaks of 24 *guṇas*, five *Samāta*, five *padas*, and five *gatis*. That 96 *latras* reside in the body demanding and troubling (*Vedanai*) the individual soul to provide for them necessary course of action (*vritti*). Overcoming these compelling demand the individual who takes refuge in the Lord as an (*arthin*) is blessed.

Pāśa

Appar refers to *mala-fetters* in plural, *Mālangalai Mārṇavallār manattinul bogamāki* which shows that the *Śaivasiddhānta* school before the 7th century, has accepted the multiplicity of *malas*. The individual soul (*Paśu*) is bound by the fetter of birth (*Pāsa pirappu*) which is removed by the Supreme. The *Pāśa*-bondage acts as a veil (*Pāsa maraivu*) arising from the past deeds. The birth is *Māyā*. The *pāśa* is tainted. It creates confusion. The Lord cuts as under the same. Appar uses the term *aṇuttal*, to cut the *pāśā*, the Sanskrit equivalent being *pāsac cheda*. The birth of the souls is due to *Māyā*, which shrouds the

Intellect *Malantāngu uyir piravi māṇṇak Kāya Mayakku*. Śiva acts as the guide of the soul. Intense devotion will give rise to a desire for eternal bliss (*Pārāparānanda āsā*) and to cut asunder the fetters of (*Pāśa*) perilous *kāla*, pleasures and relationship.

It is clear from the above that Appar considers *Pati*, *Paśu* and *Pāśa* as separate entities, and that *Pati* Himself is both bondage and release (*bandha* and *Vīdu*) and, that *Pāśa* in different from disturbs the individual soul, is fully discussed by Appar. It is only by the grace of the Lord, the activities of the five senses, are terminated. That the removal of *Pāśa* and bestowal of grace on the soul is effected by the Supreme through the form of Guru is also emphasised by Appar. The individual's consciousness is shrouded in Ignorance. The *tattvas* tempt him and obstruct his vision of self. The old and accompanying past action (*Paṇḍaivinaṭai*, Sanskrit *Prārabha*) very strongly bind the soul. The fruits of present are equally overwhelming: these are the creations of *Karma māyā*.

Tattvas

In more than two instances Appar mentions *Tattvas* as 96 in number and that they afflict the soul. In one instance he says the 96 is made up of thirty, thirty-six and thirty. *Muppadum muppaṭṭarum muppadum idu kuraṁbai Appar pol aivar vandu adu Taruka iduvideṇru opave naliyaluralai*. H.R. Hoisington, translated into English. The Siddhānta text *Tattvakkalṭalai* about one hundred years ago, wherein there 96 *Tattvas* are discussed. "According to this treatise (*Tattva Kālṭalai*) there are thirty six primary and sixty subordinate *Tattvas*." The ninety six are listed in the appendix. The ninety six are also listed in the traditional sastric text like *Suddha Śiva Prakāśak Kālṭalai*. Further, Appar uses the word *Tattva* in plural thus emphasising the plurality of the *Tattvas*. He calls the basic elements earth, water, air, fire and ether as the five *mahābhūtas* (*taṁ pram bhūtaṅgaṭ*). Śiva is frequently mentioned as embodying these five *bhūtas*. Appar also refers to five rudimental elements the *pañca tanmātras*, as *Suvai* (taste), *Oḷi* (light), *Ōsai* (sound), *Nāṇṇam* (smell) and *Uru* (touch). In more than one place Appar states that these rudimentary elements in here in the *bhūta* in different numbers.

Śiva is said to reside as one (sound) in *Ākāśa*, two (sound and touch) in air, three (sound, touch and light) in fire, four (sound, touch, light and taste) in water and five (sound, touch, light, taste and smell) in earth. Appar also refers to the five organs of action as *Tolil paṇcendryas* (*Panca Karmendriya*).

At another place he mentions the organs of knowledge. *Mūḱku* (nose), *Vāy* (mouth), *Sevi* (ear), *Kaṇ* (eye) and *Uḍal* (body). *Manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahaṇikāra* and *Citta* the four faculties of intellect are also referred to. Thus, the five *Mahābhūtas*, the *Panca Karmendriya*, five *Jñānendraya*, the five *tanmātras*, and the four faculties of intellect which constitute the *Ātma Tattva* of the Siddhāntis are mentioned by Appar.

Though the terms *Kāla*, *Kalai*, *Niyati*, *Vidyai*, *Rāga*, *Purusha*, and *Māyai* are employed by Appar, whether they are used in the sense of seven *Vidyā tattvas* is not clear. Perhaps not. Similarly the terms *Śiva*, *Sakti* and *Iccura* are used. Together with *Suddha*

vidya and *Sādhakya* they constitute the *Śivalatatto*. But the last two are not found used anywhere. Thus, though Appar is aware of the basic thirty-six *tatto*s (24 *Ātma tatto*s, 7 *Vidyā tatto*s and 5 *Śiva tatto*s) a few *Tatto*s are not mentioned by him. Nor does he use the words *Ātma Tatto*, *Vidyā Tatto* and *Śiva Tatto*.

At one place Appar states that he has not realised the essential excellence of *Tatto*s, *Tatto*ttin uyarou nirmai paduttile. Here it is not clear whether the term is employed in the sense of elements or in the sense of 'metaphysics'. May be it is employed in the later sense, in which case, greatness of metaphysics is also emphasised.

Some of the Pan Śaivite terms used by Appar are listed below, grouped according to concepts.

Basic Tenets	Sacred Texts	Mind etc.
<i>Pati</i>	<i>Caturveda</i>	<i>Buddhi</i>
<i>Paśu</i>	<i>Angas</i>	<i>Ahankāra</i>
<i>Pāśa</i>	<i>Tantra</i>	<i>Citta</i>
	<i>Mantra</i>	<i>Manas</i>
	<i>Sāstra</i>	<i>Vak</i>
Impurities		
<i>Mala</i>	<i>Veda</i>	
<i>Krodha</i>	<i>Sruti</i>	
<i>Punya</i>		
<i>Lobha</i>		
<i>Pāpa</i>		
Mode of worship		
<i>Dhyāna</i>		
<i>Arccana</i>		
<i>Pūjana</i>		
<i>Path</i>		
<i>Bhakti</i>	<i>Prārthana</i>	<i>Smta</i>
<i>Yoga</i>	<i>Stuti</i>	<i>Asmta</i>
<i>Siddha</i>	<i>Stotra</i>	<i>Nitya niyama</i>
<i>Jñāni</i>	<i>Dhūpa</i>	<i>Durita</i>
<i>Vrati</i>	<i>Dīpa</i>	<i>Samādhi</i>
<i>Tapotana</i>	<i>Avis</i>	
<i>Pitta</i>	<i>Candana</i>	
World	Weapons	Music & Dance
<i>Paraloka</i>	<i>Kapāla</i>	<i>Gita</i>
<i>Sivaloka</i>	<i>Kaṭvaṅga</i>	<i>Vaṇṇam</i>
<i>Paragati</i>	<i>Kaṇḍika</i>	<i>Nritta</i>
<i>Sivagati</i>	<i>Kapālavatā</i>	<i>Nāṭakam</i>
<i>Suka</i>	<i>Kuṇḍika</i>	<i>Pancaman</i>

Duḥkha
Bhuvanloka
Svarloka
Aṇḍagocara
Ekāśa

Nature
Sthānu
Linga
Sthāpara
Jyoti
Tūṇa
Paramāṇu
Rūpi
Nirūpi
Cankara
Jiva
Śiva
Ātma

Damaruka
Parasudharapaṇi
Sūlapāṇi
Jatāmakuta

Lord
Isāna
Vāmadeva
Pavitra
Tattva
Punita
Purāṇa
Punya
Āmāya
Nirāmāya
Nirmala
Ākāśamūrti
Ākāśamantra

Gandharvāṇi
Cokkam
Karaṇam

The Five
Pancamahābhūta
Pancendriyas
Pancamantra
Aṣṭa mūrti
Aṣṭa pushpa

24

Tirumular

Tirumular was the third of Nayanmars who expressed his love for Śiva in poetry and song. This cowherd-sage who composed a major work in over three thousand verses is, however, little known to the common people and rarely worshipped individually. Very little is known of his life. A brief account in the *periya Purana* tells the story of a travelling sage who made his way from the north of India to the south and happened to come across a herd of untended cows in apparent distress. When he came upon the dead body of the cowherd, he decided to relieve the suffering of the cows and using his yogic powers he discarded his own body and entered that of Mulan, the cowherd. Wishing to provide the circumstances necessary for the composition of the great *Tirumandiram*, Śiva spirited away his discarded body, thus ensuring that the sage would wander no further. It soon became obvious to the whole village that the body of the cowherd was no longer inhabited by Mulan, but by a great sage whom they later named Tirumular. The cowherd's wife, though completely non-plussed by her "husband's" strange behaviour, had finally to admit that it was a sage who stood before her. Freed from all responsibility, Tirumular now established himself under a pipal tree at Aduturai and inspired by Śiva, began composing the *Tirumandiram*. The nine books of the *tirumandiram*, known as *tantras*, are composed of quatrain verses of epigrammatic terseness. The first *tantra* is devoted to ethics and morality and contains several obvious truths expressed in picturesque words. For example:

The rich repast was laid and dined and joyed
With damsels sweet in amorous dalliance toyed;
"A little, little pain on the left"—moaned
And laid himself to rest to be gathered to dust.

(Natarajan)

The second *tantra* contains a philosophical explanation of Puranic myths; Tirumular's analysis and rationalisation of these indicates a background of complex philosophical concepts. Thus the legend of Śiva destroying the three *puras* (forts of three demons) is explained as his destruction of the three *malas* or impurities. The Lingodbhava episode in which Brahmā and Viṣṇu fail to locate the beginning and the end of the Liṅga

is explained as Brahmā's failure to understand the infinity of Śiva and Viṣṇu's inability to obtain his grace. The poison that Śiva swallowed at the time of the churning of the ocean and which he retains in his throat is explained as the god's absorption of the lower states of being.

The remaining *tantras* are devoted to yoga, the science of *mantras*, the Śaiva path, the importance of a Guru, the concept of internal *chakras*, the composition of the body from the elements and the dances of Śiva. The fifth *tantra* which is primarily concerned with the concept of love and devotion (*bhakti*) to Śiva, and the ways in which such *bhakti* may be expressed, is the material with which we are primarily concerned in our study. For Tirumular, love is not an attribute of Śiva; rather, love is Śiva, and two of his verses proclaiming this have been quoted in the second chapter. He wrote of the glory of Śiva who had entered his heart and made him a slave.

Praise him
but once
the immemorial Lord
and forever
he will be
by your side—
Enthroned
in the shrine
of my heart
With honeyed blossoms
of *konrai*
He abides
Śiva the Lord.

Like Appar and others before him, Tirumular disapproved strongly of penance and self-mortification and chose graphic words to express this disapproval.

With your bones as firewood
and your flesh as meat
you may roast and sizzle
in a red hot blaze—
But unless
your heart melts in love
My brilliant Lord
My precious jewel
you never can approach

Tirumular never specifically expressed himself against ritual worship in structural temples but he certainly seems to have felt that such worship was of lesser significance.

He stressed the importance of finding god within oneself; he spoke of the heart as the temple, the mind as the *sanctum sanctorum* and the soul as the Śiva Linga. Though logical analysis might find his metaphors somewhat mixed, his stress on inner worship is quite clear. For such inner worship it is necessary first to travel along the path of *Sanmarga*, which enables one to discover the Lord and enshrine him in the heart. *Sanmarga* is a threefold path of love: *sakha-marga* or path of the slave. The three *Tevaram* saints fit perfectly into Tirumular's classification of the three ways to approach Śiva, with Sundarar who followed the path of friend, Sambandar who went the way of child with parent, and Appar who was the servant of Śiva. One wonders if Tirumular formulated this threefold path with the example of these three saints in mind.

The approach to Śiva by the path of the slave (*dasa-marga*) involved total obedience and complete surrender of one's will to will of Śiva. Among those who chose this path were the *Kadum Suddhas* or "Severe pure Śaivas", who ignored all conventional bonds including those of morality and religion, and who by unorthodox means gained the grace of Śiva. Tirumular approves of such *Kadum Suddhas* one one begins to fathom vaguely why some of the sixty-three Nayanmars, who resorted to the most extraordinary and sometimes cruel deeds, were given so high a status. Three of the four Nayanmars we propose to examine in this chapter, whose prestige arose from the dramatic quality of the miracles which constituted the central feature of their lives, appear to belong to this category.

There is Kanapan who plucked out his own eye to replace the Śiva Linga's bleeding eye, Sirutondar who sacrificed his little son when a Śaiva devotee asked for human flesh, and Chandesa who cut off his father's legs for kicking at his beloved Linga. Others who achieved Śiva's grace by the strangest of means include Sirutunaiyar who cut off a queen's nose for smelling a flower set aside for the worship of Śiva, and the monarch Pugal Cholar who killed himself in remorse when he witnessed his soldiers beheading a Śaiva devotee. the word *kadum*, it might be noted, has the additional meaning of "cruel". The importance given by Tirumular to these *Kadum Suddha* saints who are not mentioned at all in later literature, would lead one to believe that he lived at a time when their stories were widely known and current.

Tirumular believed that to revere and honour a saintly slave of the Lord, *adiyar*, was to revere and honour the Lord himself. Service to such an evolved devotee of Śiva was service to Śiva; sacrifice for the sake of such a devotee was sacrifice for Śiva. Tirumular refers to these *adityars* also as *jnanis* or wise men. A section of the *Tirumandiram* entitled "Mahesvara-puja" is in fact devoted to the hospitality to be extended to these saints and sages, and several verses reiterate the importance of providing them with a midday meal.

You may build
thousand temple towers
Or raise for Brahmins
a thousand towns—

If you but serve a *jnani*
his midday meal
Doubtless, doubtless
this is best of all.

A second verse phrases this sentiment somewhat differently.

In the hope of gaining the Lord
you may perform a sacrifice
feeding a crore of holy Brahmins
chanting Vedic *mantras*—
Much greater gain is surely yours
if you but feed one devotee
wearing Śiva's sacred ashes.

With such significance attached to the provision of a meal to a Śaiva devotee, we begin to comprehend Śrutondar's acquiescence to the sacrifice of his fiveyears old son to please such a Śaiva figure.

It is generally assumed that Tirumular was one of the earliest of the Nayanmars and lived a century or two before the *tevaram* saints, Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar. This assumption does not appear to be well grounded. Tirumular's casual passing reference to Jains and Buddhists was taken as an indication that he lived well before the time of Appar and Sambandar when these sects had become powerful and aggressive. However, a closer study of the *Tirumandiram* seems to indicate that the work belongs rather to the end of the seventh century, when the Jains and the Buddhists had already been reduced to an ineffectual status, and that Tirumular may in fact have been part contemporary of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar. We have already made this suggestion in discussing his threefold *path* to Śiva, of friend, child and servant. A further suggestion of his contemporary with these saints is contained in Tirumular's description of the Tamil land and its wise men "who wander about here and there, *singing songs as easily as they would spit out water*" (italics mine). The reference seems to be to the singing *Muvar*. Moreover, the *Tirumandiram* begins with an invocation to Ganesa who rose to prominence in the Tamil country only in the seventh century. Those who consider Tirumular an early saint, explain the Ganesa invocation as a later interpolation; this manipulation is unnecessary if we place him in the late seventh or early eighth century.

Tirumular was one of the Nayanmars who did not achieve popularity in his own lifetime. The fact that his verses were mostly philosophical and instructive and were not set to music may account for this lack of popularity. Tirumular was never worshipped independently, and from the point of the Śiva worshipper, he remained a distant philosopher figure. When a temple commissioned his image, ■ was only as part of a complete groups of Nayanmars, and he is generally portrayed as a sage-like figure with flowing, matted hair. In fact, the greatness of the *Tirumandiram* was recognised only

several centuries after its composition when it became the tenth book of the Śaiva canon. This Tamil work is a synthesis of the philosophic ideas of the north and south, and may be said to be pan-Indian in its impact. However, its influence is predominant in the south because of the language in which it is couched and because it contains in germinal form several concepts later developed by the southern system of Śaiva Siddhānta.

25

The Tiru Murukārruppatai

The *Tiru Murukārruppatai*, composed by Nakktirar, is included as the eleventh among the twelve *Tirumurai*, a series of Śaivite sacred songs, and it is sung daily by ardent devotees of god Murukan. This work belongs to the *Saṃgam* literature (second century B.C.—second century A.D.) and is one of the Ten Idylls (*Pattuppāṭi*). *Ārruppatai* is a kind of poetical composition in which bars (*porunar*), wandering minstrels (*pāṇar*), actors (*kūttar*), and female bards (*vīraliyar*) having received generous gifts from kings or chiefs, advise others to seek the patronage of these donors, whose virtues, achievements, exploits in war they profusely praise. But in the *Tiru Murukārruppatai* the *bhakta* who has received spiritual blessings of god Murukan directs other devout souls who seek after liberation of approach him and obtain his grace? The poem describes the nature of God Murukan, the way of approaching him, his spiritual blessings bestowed on his *bhaktas*, and the six shrines on hills where he dwells

(i) *The approach to God's feet*. If the *bhakta* with steady mind that longs for the feet of God follows the path of doing good and acquiring true knowledge, he will surely secure even now the fruit of his striving, as the fulfilment of the desire for final liberation, which desire is found in every good man's heart become mature after many births (62—5). If his lover worship him with praise (221) he condescends to help them and bestow grace. He, the bright red One, with feet decorated with gold, grants grace to men who suffer from rebirth and *karma* (271). The devotee should express the praise of God in sweet and good words and worship the form which shines as the divine power (286—7). If the worshipper utters words which are the sign of love towards God (292), he grants the priceless gift of final liberation, which is difficult to obtain otherwise (295). *Anpuṭai nan moli* : good words expressive of love (for God) is a clear indication that the *Tiru Murukārruppatai* teaches *bhakti* in its technical religious sense; and this evidence is all the more important, since the work belongs to the *Saṃgam* literature. The devotee recourse to the feet of God through *bhakti* because he feels it difficult to comprehend (literally, to measure and know) the nature of God by any other means, and to possess immediate apprehension of him who is the truly wise One, comparable to none (278—9)

(ii) *God's response*. God Murukan is popularly depicted as having six faces. So his faces, shining with light, are said to blossom out from the hearts of devotees who offer

blameless ascetical worship (89—90). Four of these faces are represented as granting spiritual boons to those who love him. One face sheds rays of light upon the world, annihilating the darkness of its evils (91—2). One face joyfully gives blessings with love, being gladdened by the praise of loving devotees (93—4). It is remarkable to find in this early work the explicit teaching of God's love for his *bhaktas* : '*kātaḥ uvantu varāṇi koṭuttamāṇāḥ*, gladly granting spiritual favours out of love' (94). The third face helps to render innocuous any obstacles in the sacrifices of the Brāhmins who recite mantras and worship according to the Vedas (95—8). The fourth face teaches the good the remaining truths (96—8).

Lastly, to those who approach him seeking liberation he grants the favour of release from the sorrow of rebirth, and brings the most enjoyable bliss (270). His feet are as shelter to those who love him, and their pride, arising out of ignorance, dissolves (4).

26

The Tirumantiram

Tirumūlar, whose life-sketch is given in the *Periya Purāṇam*, was it appears, a Brāhmin Śiva-yogin, well-verse in the *siddhis*, and lived in Kailā (Himalayas). He undertook a pilgrimage to poṭiyamalai in the South to meet Akattiyar. After visiting the temples of Śiva in Nepal, Banares, Kāñcipuram, and Cītamparam, he arrived at Tiruvāvaṭuturai and worshipped Śiva. One day as he was passing by a herd of cows which were bemoaning the death of the cowherd, named Mūlan, he was deeply moved with compassion for the sorrowing animals, entered into the body of the dead man, and appeared as Mūlan. He was respected as a great mystic both by the wife of the cowherd and by the people around. Not finding his previous body in the place where he left it, Tirumūlar realised that God Śiva wanted him to express the Āgamic truths in Tamil, and he therefore composed the Tirumantiram.

The *Tirumantiram*, a mystical treatise, is written in simple style but its thought is rather abstruse. It contains profound statements on *Śiva-bhakti*. On reading the work, one cannot but feel convinced that the Śaivite mystics who lived later, especially the authors of the *Tēvāram*, were largely influenced by this work.

The Doctrine of Bhakti

The *Tirumantiram* is perhaps the first early Tamil text in which the term *patti*, as well as the term *amṇu*, is quite explicitly and frequently used to convey not merely the ordinary meaning of 'love of God' but, deeper, that of mystical union with God. Tirumūlar, judging from his work, was no merely speculative mystic; his language and expression bear ample testimony to personal experience of what he wrote?

(i) *God is love*. God, for Tirumūlar, is not merely one who loves souls but one whose very essence is love. Where there is love, there is God; and where there is God, there is love. God and love are convertible terms.

The ignorant think that love (*amṇu*) and God (*civam*) are two (different things); they do not know that love is God.

After knowing that love is God

they remain possessed of love which is God. (257)

The two terms *anpu* (love) and *civam* (God) are used in a variety of meanings in the *Triumphantiram*. *Anpu* may signify man's love to God (269, 1429, 981) or final bliss which is the state of love (2587), or the definition of God himself (257). *Civam* also may have different meanings: God Śiva (1509, 2745, 2747), or the liberated state, the final bliss of the deified soul (2437), or God's grace-giving power (*arul-catti*, 1983). W.H. Schomerus express doubt with regard to the meaning of the stanza (257) translated above, and takes *civam* in the sense of final bliss and not as defining the nature of God. But the native commentators rightly, I think, understand the text as referring to God Śiva. The reason for this interpretation is that *anpu* already includes the blissful state in its meaning, and it would be a tautology if *civam* also expressed the same idea in the text. And besides, the final bliss itself, according to the Śiva religion, consists in the possession of God in love through *arul-catti*; this again would give God as the meaning of *civam*. God is more conclusively expressed as love in the following stanza:

(The Lord) is in love; he forms the body of love outside.
He is (love) before and after (his action outside): as the Lord of the mystics,
he resides within love, the supreme Real;
he is the help of those who love him. (266)

Being of the nature of love in himself, he forms the body of love outside of himself.

He stands as love, knowledge, good conduct.
He stands as bliss and the blissful union between lovers.
He stands (as love) in time and *karma*.
With love he stands in his five-fold (function). (402)

God evidences great love in creating should and opening up the source of experience (263). More especially does he manifest his form of love in his *bhaktas* by entering into their inmost self and communing with them. When the *bhakta* longs for his God as does the calf for its mother (*āṅkara tēḷi alaikkam atupōl*), God seeking him enters into him (*nāḷi vantu ul pukuntānanrē*, 2581). This divine participation takes place in the finest part of the *bhakta*'s personality, namely his mind (*pirāṇ vantu en cintai pukuntānan*, 2920). God takes possession of the soul (*vantu ennai āṇṭa*) and cuts the coil of pride (*tiyakkaruttān*) (2923). He is said to be trapped within the *bhakta*'s being (*ennullē akappattavārē*, 2934).

(11) *The means of liberation*. The sum and substance of all the ways to God is *bhakti*, for it has to colour *caryā*, *kriyā*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*. the genuine service of the Lord's is *bhakti* itself (*patipāṇi ceyvālu pattinai kāṇṇē*, 1427).

The *bhakta* with the help of Guru's grace, instructed in *caryā* and *kriyā*, practising the blameless *yoga* by the grace (of the Lord), realising by *jñāna* (the nature of Śiva), will in his mind become Śiva. (1428)

In everything he does in the service of the Lord, the *bhakta* melts in love for him (*anpu urukuvān nāḷum paṇi ceyvān*, 1429).

God did not accessible except to those whose heart dissolves into love (*anpōṭu uruki akai kulaivārkkū*, 259)

Praise the Lord, melting in love.

Seek the primal being, melting in love.

Then the great Nanti (Śiva) in order to bestow the love of union will grant us the gift of loving him alone.

(261)

Anpōṭu urukal (melting in love) is a technical expression of Śaiva Siddhānta mysticism, frequently occurring in many texts. It means the outpouring or liquefaction of the soul in God. A heart that does not easily receive the divine impressions of grace (*aruḷ*), but lives in its own will, amidst the inclinations that characterise the *āṇavam*-fettered soul, is called a heart of iron or stone. On the other hand, when it is docile, pliable, and tractable, it is called a melting and liquefied heart. Love (*bhakti*) mollifies, softens, and melts hearts far more quickly than any other passion. In mystical language, what does melting mean, save that the self is no longer contained within itself but flows out towards its divine lover? As god Śiva pours out his love into the heart of the *bhakta*, so the *bhakta* reciprocally pours out his love to flow into Śiva's grace (*aruḷ-catti*); he lets himself pass into what he loves and gently glides, like a fluid, into the divinity whom he loves.

That this *bhakti* engenders true knowledge of Śiva is much stressed in the *Tirumantiram*. No one can know God except the *bhakta*; and such knowledge is not attained unless God shines in the *bhakti* of the worshipper (*patarta, paṭṭiyirpār paṭil allatu muttinai yār colla...*, 2580). Somewhat in the same strain as that of the Sermon on the Mount, Tirumūlar says:

Those who have intense love will see God Hara.

Those who have compassion will see his feet.

Those who have the load (of cares) will see misery:

and subject to pressure, they will enter into the cycle of rebirth.

(260)

One of the Beatitudes of the Sermon is: "the pure in heart shall see God." The *Tirumantiram*'s beatitude is: 'Those who love God intensely shall see him.' That is to say, love purifies souls from the evil of *karma* and *saṁsāra* and enables them to see God through grace and reach his sacred feet.

The nature of this love is further explained as consisting of concentration and meditation on God, praise of him, and desire of his grace.

If one fixes God who is the golden light reflected in nature
in one's thought, and praises him as he Lord,
and with love seeks his grace,
then God will bestow (on him) final bliss.

(264)

Bhakti is the result of steady remembrance of God and of his loving deeds for souls. He will not come to those who forget him (*marantān zali mutal vaitilan*, 113). That there is no opposition between *bhakti* and *jñāna* but rather that one includes the other is further brought out when it is said that *jñāna* itself begets *bhakti*. To those who fix Nanti in their love, the outcome of *jñāna* (*nantiyai nānattinālē aplananni anpir patittu vaippōrkke*), there is no impurity, no stain, no egoism (2917).

The *bhakta*'s knowledge of God also leads him to the proper knowledge of his own nature. True knowers of themselves are the true knowers of God who is related to them.

Those who know themselves are those who worship the feet of the Lord.
 Those who know themselves are those who walk in the way of righteousness.
 Those who know themselves are the philosophers who know the truth of Śiva.
 To those who know themselves the Lord is *kith* and *kin*. (108)

True knowledge of the self lies in the love and service of God, because absolute love for God makes one forget himself, and forgetfulness of the self leads one to God; and this transcendental love is transformed into mystical knowledge, real and all-pervasive.

(11) *The state of final liberation.* *Bhakti* reaches its highest stage in the soul's final realisation of God. This state is described by Tirumūlar in a very vivid way. Out of intense joy in the possession of the supreme love into which he melts, the mystic weeps (*anpuḷ uruki aluvan*), wails (*ararruvan*), praises God at all times with the melting of his very bones (*enpum uruva irāppakal eṭṭuran*), bites (*kaṭippan*) God, eats (*tinpan*) him, and unites (*tiruttutva*) with him. These expressions, of course, are to be taken in the mystical sense of loving union with God.

The mystical state is a state of union with god in love. Tirumūlar proclaims: 'My supreme love remains (inseparably) entwined (with God)' (*piṇnik kiṭantaten pēranputānē*, 258). 'God has taken his abode in my love' (*en anpil ninraṇ*, 262). The mystic speaks of the complete stripping of his soul when he is united to God. 'I have become stripped of all relation to rebirth and fetters; I have become one with God' (*kaṭavulum nānuni onrānēn*, 2918). His mind and heart become Śiva (*cittaiṇ civaṇṇṇy*, . . . *cyttac civaṇṇāvar*, 2928); the Lord takes possession of him (*ennai āluṇi nātan*, 2930); whatever, he does, he realises it to be Śiva's (*ceyvana ellāṇ civaṇṇākak kāṇṭlāl*, 2936).

There is no difference between my mind and Śiva,
 for Śiva shines within my mind.
 Śiva abides as consciously possessed in the minds of those
 who can realise this illumination (of Śiva in the mind). (2809)

God becomes the *bhakta*'s knowledge (*uṇarvu*), life (*uyir*), union (*punaru*), and wounded love (*ūṭal*, 2813). The mystic in possession of love (*patti*) stands united with God (*paran tamuḷ ninru*) and with his *Śakti* (2819). This state of being one with God (*onrātal*), far

from being a complete identity between the two beings, leaves intact the individuality of both. Just as before liberation the soul and *śarvāṇa* were united, although the soul in its individual nature is not identified with *śarvāṇa*, so also in the liberated state the soul and God stand inter—penetrated, neither of them losing individuality.

27

Udra Race

Orissa is the land of Udra Race and Oriya speaking people. It consists of some parts from ancient Kalinga, Kosala, Utkala, Tosali, Trialinga and Kangoda. All the ancient kingdoms were disappeared within eleventh Century A.D. leaving Odradeśa to be known. If the Udras had to fight any other racial group for coming into prominence. There is no evidence of any battle among the racial groups but, often, one kingdom has extended its supremacy over the other, and in this way, Orissa came to live long on the grave-yards of all. It is the Soro Copper Plate of Somadutta (7th Century A.D.) which mentions, for the first time, the name of Udraviśaya as an administrative unity in Uttara Tosali. Prior to it, in the Manusamhita and in the Natyasastra of Bharata neither the Oriya race nor their language has got prestigious position. Bharata and Manu were exponents of Brāhmanic social order and so, their classification of Odra race as *Mleccha* and of *Bhāṣa* as *Vibhāṣa* do not hold truth. Still prior to them, it is seen that the fifth Sunga king was known as Andhraka, Dhruka, Odruka etc. B.C. Sen has discussed much on the variant forms of the name of the said king.

It may support the view that prior to the beginning of Christian Era Odra people with a kingdom were under the Sunga paramountcy. It coincides with the opinion of Manomohan Ghosh and Benimadhav Padhi to a certain extent. M. Ghosh says, "It is almost certain that the name Odra was older and enjoyed a greater prestige and for this reason, shared the honour with Magadha in giving a name to the eastern style of procedure which was called Odra-Magadhi." B. Padhi tracing out the origin of Odra race says that it has been derived from the root, 'Ud' meaning wet. The description of Udra Viśaya in the Soro Copper Plate and the opinion of B. Padhi indicate that the Udra race and Udra kingdom were originated and developed from the coastal plains. But the morphological divisions of Orissa and the system of habitation of early men may say that these were originated in the mountainous region, and were developed in the coastal plains and in the rolling uplands fed up by river actions.

There is doubt about the root, 'Ud' from which Udra was derived. Because the word does not seem to have a relation with the stem which means Oḍā or wet. Rather, as B. Padhi thinks, the Odra as a tribe may be older than the Kalingas. Moreover, there was no such Kalinga tribe, and the Odras and the Kalingas forming kingdoms indicate their developed stage, not their primitive tribal characters. From this development point of

view, Odra and Kalinga have caught the notice of Sanskrit grammarians and they had suitably interpreted their characteristics. On the basis of development, Kalinga precedes Odra and so, Kalinga became more popular than Odra in the past. The Varttika and Megasthenes report had documented Kalinga, but not Odra. According to the interpretations of Sanskrit lexicographers, Odra and Kalinga in the stages of their development are more concerned to religious background than any other one. In this sense, Udra seems to have been derived from the stem, 'Ut' which means to fly-up, and we may accept it as Yogic practice which is known as Uḍrayāna. Like this Kalinga has been interpreted as "Kalim gacchati, antarbhūtoḽanyārtha dr̥meḥ" (Va. 3.2.48).

Under the above religious and historical conditions we may suggest that the Kalingas and the Odras evolved from one generic group signifying different religious standards. The Kalingas were followers of ancient Bhakti Cult and the Odras were followers of Śiva Cult. The difference between them is the same as there is difference between the doctrines of 'one without the second' and 'not-two' states. For more elucidation we would see the perspectives of these two terms and their social glides. The religion of Orissa is mainly tribal in spirit. In every walk of life of the Hindus the deities like *Dharma*, *Bhagavan*, *Bhagavati* and *Mangalā* are held high. So also, in the tribal society Jacar Bnga and Jaekrma are higher deities. The civilisation in flux has certainly stamped out changes on the religious ideas of the present Hindus and Tribals, and also, on their generic properties, but still their fundamentals are there like a stone under the moss. We see the same fate of the Kalingas and the Oriyas.

Umāpati

The first and the foremost disciple of Meykaṇḍār was Arulnandi Śivācāryar, who gave an epistemology to the Śaiva Siddhānta system and established it as a system along with the other systems of Indian Philosophy and as the system which correctly interprets the Vedas and Āgamas. Another disciple of Meykaṇḍār, Manavācakam Kaṇḍandār of Tiruvadikai, added a work to the Siddhānta literature. It goes by the name 'Uṇmai Vilakkam', the very little of the work (Exposition of Truth) explains the object as providing an exposition of realising Truth. This work is put in the form of a dialogue between the author and his master. This work speaks of the truths of the Āgmas; of the thirty six *tattvas* (ātma, Vidyā and the Śuddha tattvas); the two kinds of mala (Āṇava and Karma); the dance of Śiva, the holy five letters (pañcakṣara), the *advaita mukti*, and the adoration to the Guru and devotees.

This work categorically asserts that all the three realities of Śaiva Siddhānta, the individual self, God and even malam have their place and function in release. And it extolled the greatness of the five-lettered *mantra*. It says the five-lettered *mantra* is the Veda, the Āgama, the Purāṇa, the dance and the *mukti* which is beyond the 36 *tattvas*.

This work describes the dance of Śiva and explains its significance. The Holy feet of our Lord are the only thing, which removes the *māyā*, burn the bond of Karma, destroy that *āṇava* crushing its effect and place the self in Bliss. And the dance signifies the five-fold cosmic function. Creation takes place in the drum, Preservation in the raised hand (abhaya) and Dissolution in the fire. The foot placed firm on the ground stands for

concealment and the raised foot signifies the Grace. The dance represents the five-lettered mantra also. The 'na' is in the Feet; 'ma' is in the navel; 'si' is in the shoulder; the face has the 'vā' and 'ya' is in the crown. This can be explained in a different way also. The hand that has the drum represents 'si'; the extended hand has 'vā'; the raised (abhaya) hand signifies 'ya'; the hand in which is fire represents 'na'; and in the foot that is placed on *Muyalakan* is 'ma'.

This work with 53 verses in *Veṇbā* meter, raises six questions, the answers for which explain the tenets of the Śaiva Siddhānta.

Then appears *Umāpati* on the scene. He was the disciple of one *Maṛaiṇānasambandar*, who received instruction from *Arulnandi Śivācāryar*. Thus *Umāpati* comes in the same line and contributes to the Siddhānta literature. His is the major contribution as eight of the fourteen śāstras are by him. He follows *Arulnandi* in expounding this system. *Arulnandi* in his book, under two sections, formulates the Siddhānta philosophy. The first section criticised the alien schools from the perspective of Siddhānta, and his second section posited the system with a view to bring out its inner consistency by exhibiting the inner contradictions of positions at variance with it. *Umāpati* supplemented and complemented this work, by his two major contributions, *Śaṅkarpanirākaraṇam* and *Śivappirakāśam*. The first one deals with the tenets of *Māyāvāda* and internal schools of Śaivism expounding them and criticising them each from the perspective of the next in the order of enumeration and only implying or adumbrating the position of Śaiva Siddhānta. What is thus implied and unsaid is expounded systematically in the second work, viz., *Śivappirakāśam*.

Umāpati, a past master in philosophy, has shown his ingenuity in *Śaṅkarpanirākaraṇam*. He has arranged the systems, which he criticises viz., (1) *Māyāvādam*, (2) *Aikyavādam*, (3) *Pasaṇavādam*, (4) *Bhēḍavādam*, (5) *Śivasamavādam*, (6) *Śaṅkrāntavādam*, (7) *Īśvaravikāravādam*, (8) *Nimittakāraṇa-pariṇāmavādam*, and (9) *Śālvavādam*, in such a way that one school does, not only condemn the previous one, but also is an improvement upon the other. *Arulnandi* took up in his *Parapakkam* of the *Siddhyār*, systems which were heterogenous in nature, whereas, *Umāpati* dealt with systems which, barring *Māyāvādam* and *Aikyavādam*, were homogenous in character, i.e., they all belonged to the inner school.

A question may arise here as to why *Umāpati* took up *Māyāvādam*, which is an outer school and which has already been criticised by *Arulnandi* in his *Parapakkam* (*Siddhiyār*). *Māyāvādam* is named after the exposition it makes, Appearance (*Māyā*). *Māyā* in the *Māyāvādam* is indescribable (*anirvacaniyam*). *Māyā* in Siddhānta is real for it is a derivative of the power of Śiva. It is one of the categories of the Siddhānta system. As such the *Māyā* of the Siddhānta is entirely different from that of the *Māyāvāda*.

Umāpati calls the Śaivasiddhānta the essence of the Vedānta and clearly implies that the name is applicable in contradistinction to 'Vedānta.'

Māyāvāda is known as Advaita system also for its basic tenet is Advaita. Siddhānta also speaks of Advaita. For the expression 'advaitam' occurs in the Śruti and

every philosopher interpreting the Veda for that matter has to interpret it, albeit, in his own way. The word 'Advaita' is understood in the 'privative' sense (abhāvārtha) by the monistic schools, and Māyāvāda is one of them. This means 'not-two' in the sense of non-existence of two, implying really 'oneness.' The dualist school understands it in the negative sense (virodha). This negative signifies the opposite, i.e., 'not-two' means 'one'. Śaiva Siddhānta adopts a third meaning of negation, i.e., 'otherness' (anyatvam). It interprets *advaita* to mean not 'oneness' but 'not-duality' (ananyatvam). 'Other than two is denial, not of two, but of the duality of two.' And so Siddhānta says that 'Advaita affirms neither the absence of a second (monism) nor the being of a second (dualism), but affirms only the secondlessness of the second. What appears to be second to Brahman in being is, nevertheless indeed not second to it because of union, pervasion and relation.' As the Siddhānta system was conceived in Tamil land and in the Tamil language, it makes use of two Tamil words, *anmai* (negation of a quality) and *inmai* (negation of existence). These two words were time-honoured and haloed by the hymnists of the Śaiva world. So in Advaita the Siddhānta finds 'anmai' and interprets it that way. For God is all pervasive (vyāpaka) and everything else is in it (vyāpya). As such 'what is therefore denied of the two is there otherness which furnishes the basis for duality and what is affirmed, by implication, is their inseparability, inalienability, a positive condition of invariable co-presence. So 'advaita does not exclude the being of the two but only their mutual exclusion, duality.'

The Māyāvāda was called the 'Kevalādvaita' and the Siddhānta school was named 'Śuddhādvaita' as opposed to it. Meykaṇḍār established this system on the basis of the interpretation of the expression 'advaitam'. Umāpati wanted to bring in the difference between the (kevalādvaita) Māyāvāda and the (Śuddhādvaita) Siddhānta, and that is why he took up Māyāvāda and the (Śuddhādvaita) Siddhānta, and that is why he took up Māyāvāda for discussion, though it has already been discussed and criticised by Arulnandi.

So it can be said that the Siddhānta system, which was expounded by Meykaṇḍār and formulated by Arulnandi, got its definition and form at the hands of Umāpati.

28

The Uṇmaiṽḷakkam

This book was composed by Manavācakam Kaṭantār about A.D. 1255 (Cālivāhana Cahāptam 1177) in the form of a dialogue between the Guru, Meykaṇṭar, and this disciple, the author himself. There exists an anonymous Tamil Commentary on this work.

The title of the book, Uṇmaiṽḷakkam, indicates that it deals with the explanation (ṽḷakkam) of the Truth (uṇmai), referring obviously to the truth of the Śaivite categories of being; namely, pati, paśu, and pāśam. The first verse states that the author undertook to write this treatise in order to expound the substance of the Āgamas for the benefit of souls (vaṇmai tarum ākamanūḷ vaitta poruḷ valuvā...). The book can rightly be called a manual for the instruction of young Śaivites, answering questions with regard to the thirty-six *tattuvam* or evolutes of *māyai* (ārāru tattuvamētu, 2.1), the nature of ānavam (ibid.), the nature of karma or vinal (2.2), the nature of the self (nānētu, 2.3), the nature of God (nīētu, ibid.) and the meaning of the five-lettered mantram (2.3-4), and finally the way of realizing God himself (ananta yokam, 3.3-4).

(a) The Thirty-six Tattuvam

The term *tattuvam* derives from Sanskrit *tatva*, which means 'that-ness', i.e. 'essence', 'real condition or state of a thing.' Tattuvam, the Tamil form of tat-tva, should not be understood to stand for tat-tvam. In the advaita philosophy *tatva* is sometimes artificially analysed into *tat tvam*, 'that (art) thou', as expressing the identity of individual souls (tvam) with the one undifferentiated universal Brāhman (tad). As we know, the Śaiva Siddhāntin would be the last person to accept this interpretation of the word tat-tva. In the Śaiva Siddhānta it is used to designate any essential part of the human organism, such as element, sense, organ, property, or faculty, whether visible or invisible, active or inert. The term has been rendered in English by various words: category, principle, power, organ, property. None of these fully expresses the meaning of the original, which includes ideas, both physical and metaphysical; hence we retain the original term itself in translation.

The main principle of the doctrine of *tattuvam* is that man is a complete miniature

universe (microcosm), and that he is dependent on Śiva's Śakti in both his origin and nature.

There are thirty-six *tattuvam* (2.1), grouped in three classes: *āttuma tattuvam* (1-17), *vittiya tattuvam* (18-19), and *civa (cutta) tattuvam* (20-1).

(i) *Āttuma tattuvam*. These are the peculiar properties of souls. They are also called *acutta tattuvam* (impure *tattuvam*) and *pokkiya kāṇṭam* (the instruments of pleasure). They are divided as follows:

The five elements (*pūtam*) are *pūmi* (earth), *punal* (water), and (fire) *kāl* (air), *ākāyam* (ether (4 ff.)).

The five rudimental senses (*aimpulan*) are *ōcai* (sound), *paricam* (touch), *uruvam* (form), *cava* (taste), *nārram* (smell) (10). These *tattuvam*, imperceptible except to the gods and the liberated *bhaktas*, are the subjects of the archetypes of sound, tranquillity, colour, flavour, and odour, at least one of which is supposed to be present in every act of sensation.

The five organs of perception (*nānēntiriyam*) are *cevi* (ears), *tōl* (skin), *kaṇ* (eyes), *tālu* or *nākkū* (tongue), *mūkkū* (nose) (11). These *tattuvam* do not denote the visible ears, skin etc., but are those subtle, though material, organisms or invisible mechanisms which possess their implied functions.

The five organs of action (*kanmēntiriyam*) are *vākkū* (mouth) *pāṭum* (feet), *pāṇi* (hands), *pāyu* (excretory organs), *upattam* (genital organs) (14-15). These are also imperceptible-organic structures in which the implied functions inhere.

The four intellectual organic faculties (*antakkaranam*) are *manam* (the understanding), *putti* (the judgement), *akankaram* (the individuality or egoism), *cittam* (the will) (16). Here we have to bear in mind that these terms are not to be understood in the same ways as those of the Vedānta. *Manas* in all the Indian philosophical systems is regarded as distinct from the soul (*ātman*), of which it is only the instrument, and is considered perishable (with the exception of the *Nyāya*).

Ahaṁkāra (literally the making of *omkāra* or of the Ego) and *ahaṁpratyaya* (literally the notion of the ego) have as agent in the Vedānta a *manas* (mental organ), which commentators explain as *antaram indriyam* (internal sense). The Vedānta knows only one internal organ, which carries the general name of *manas*, but is also indiscriminately called *citta*, *buddhi*, and even at times *vijñāna*. It is only in the Sāṁkhya that *manas* is distinct from *ahāṁkāra* and *buddhi* (the reasoning organ). We can say that the Śaiva Siddhānta bears a resemblance in this to the Sāṁkhya. The Śaivite *tattuvam* are corporeal faculties which function only insofar as they are dependent on the soul. They are also called intellectual senses, since independent of them even the soul has no intellectual life.

(ii) *Vittiya tattuvam*. These are *kālam* (time), *niyaṭi* (the law of karma), *kalai* (that which dispels to some extent *ānāṁ* and actuates the soul), *vittai* (thought), *irākam* (desire), *puruṭan* (life), and *māyai* (matter) (28).

While the previously mentioned *āttunā tattuvam* are essential to man in his animal and-intellectual existence, the *vittiyā tattuvam* are essential to him in his state of probation (*samsāra*) and act as prompters or directors to the soul in its animal organism; they guide the soul through actions, good or bad, and through the experience of pain and pleasure, with proper knowledge or consciousness (*vittai*). Their functions can be described thus:

Kālam determines the limit of the past, the fruit of the present, and the newness of the future;
nīyati secures to the soul all the fruits of its own action, and *kalai* gradually dispels *āṇavam*, stimulating the power of action in the soul;
vittai wakes up the soul's understanding and *irāṇam* its desire;
puruṣan supports the whole system in its operations
māyai aids the soul to concentrate on the world of experience as if it were the true reality. (19).

(iii) *Civa (cutta) tattuvam*. The divine powers (or the developments of the deity), otherwise denominated *pirēra kāṇṭam* (operative instruments), are *cuttavittai*, *īcuram*, *catācivam* (or *cātākkīyam*), and *civam* (20). *Civam* is the male energy of the deity developed in a material organism. *Catti* is the female energy of the deity thus developed and organised. *Catācivam* is the highest organism, in which the two energies are developed. *īcuram* is the organism through which the obscuring agency of the deity is exerted; *cuttavittai* is the power of destruction, reproduction, and conservation, represented in the forms of Rudra-Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

The functions of these *tattuvam* are given as follows. *Civam* is the form of *civāñānam*, and is that which leads the soul to Śiva. *Catti* is the form of action, the organised medium through which the soul is led into the state of grace (the medium of divine illumination). *Catācivam* is the form in which the two energies of the deity, male and female, are combined, and in which wisdom and action are perfectly balanced (the source of grace to all souls) *īcuram*, or *makēcuram*, is the development in which *ñānam* is lessened and *kīriyai* (action) predominates (source of darkness in souls). This is the form by which God governs men in all their actions according to their karma, and as such is hidden from men; hence it is called 'the obscuring God.' *Cuttavittai* is the divine form in which *īriyai* (action) fades and *ñānam* (wisdom) predominates (the source of destruction to all organic existences) (21).

In this way we have five operative gods, Brahmā the generator Viṣṇu the preserver, Śiva or Rudra the reproducer, Makēcuran the obscurer, and Catācivam the illuminator. Rudra-śiva is commonly also called the destroyer, because the process of reproduction in all animals and plants and that of sending souls into successive bodies involves also the destruction of the old body. Moreover, these five gods are not independent of the supreme Lord Śiva; while popular Śaivism might consider these as minor

gods, philosophical Śaivism rejects outright any plurality of the Supreme Being and views these as five different aspects of his manifestation.

(b) Āṇavam and Karmam

Having explained the nature and function of the thirty-six *tattuvam*, the Uṇmaivilakkam proceeds to define *āṇavam* and *karmam*. The term *malam* (impurity or evil) is in frequent use in all Śaivite literature. There are three *malam*: *māyai*, i.e. matter in its obscuring or entangling power; *karmam* or *vinai*, i.e. cause of action, which results in pain and pleasure (22); and *āṇavam*, i.e. the source of darkness and impurity. The thirty-six *tattuvam* are evolutes of *māyai*, either pure or impure, according as the *tattuvam* are pure or impure. These have been fully treated in the Śivañānapōtam and the Śivañāna Cittiār.

(c) Ānmarūpam (the nature of the soul)

The soul by the grace of God discovers that *cit* (*civam*) and *acit* (*pācam*) are distinct from each other, and that *cit* does not depend on *acit*, either in its existence or in its knowledge (24). The soul, as long as it is bound up with the affairs of the material *tattuvam*, cannot realise its true nature (25); it has to realise that it is by its own agency that the *tattuvam* function (26).

(d) The Conception of Śiva

The five different divine functions mentioned above are all easy to Śiva to perform, involving no effort, so that he is said to 'act without acting', and thus everything that he does is conceived as sheer sport. This takes us to the notion of Śiva's dance. It is interpreted commonly as the source of all movements, the origin of the five cosmic powers (*pañcakṛtya*) or *civa tattuvam*. More especially his dance symbolises his gracious action in working out the liberation of souls (36). His posture as *Naṭarāja*, with the various gestures of his body, is seen particularly in the light of liberating activity. His hand holding a rattle (*damaru*) removes the impurity of *māyai* (*māyai tanai yatarī*, 36.1); the hand with *agni* burns out *vinai* or *karma* (*val vinaiyalcuttu*, 36.1); his foot on the ground presses down *āṇavam* (*malam cāya amukki*, 36. 1-2), lest this *malam* should gain power; his raised foot stabilises the power of his grace (*aruḷ tāt etuttu*, *ibid.*); and, finally, his two hands, in gestures showing mercy and love, plunge the liberated souls into the ocean of bliss (*nēyattāl ānantavāritiyil ānmāvaittān aluttal*, 36. 2-3).

The Uṇmaivilakkam puts great stress on the conception of God as the merciful and gracious Lord; nay more, it defines the divine nature itself as Grace of Mercy; grace is the very form of the Godhead (literally, grace is 'the body of God', *aruḷmūrti* (37.3): *kāruṇyame tṛumēniyākak koṇṭa civan*); God possesses the nature of mercy (*karuṇaiyuruk koṇṭātal* (38.3) and *karuṇaiyāḷan uru* (49.1).

As the light of the sun shows objects to the eye to see, so śiva, residing in the soul, makes it see (*unatarivn naṇṇi arivittituvōm*) the nature of the *tattuvam* and of its own self

(27). Like the five senses, which do not realise that it is by the aid of the soul that they perceive things, the soul does not know that it is by the aid of Śiva (unnarivil mēvāmal mēvi) that it knows objects and itself (28). God is the intelligence that illuminates the intelligence of the soul (uyirukk uyirāy) in all its activity (29).

(e) The Conception of *bhakti*

The Uṇmaivilakkam proposes two kinds of *bhakti*, the lower and the higher, as is commonly found in Śaivite *bhakti* literature.

the lower *bhakti* is explicitly advocated as the means of realising the supreme state of liberation:

Listen, I now explain how the three fundamentals (mūnru mutal) pati, paśu, pāśam remain in the liberated state (mutti).

The self experiences the pure bliss; the Lord grants this abundant happiness; malam effects this happiness.

Realise this truth with love (anpu). (50)

Loving devotion to the Guru, to Liṅgam and civarūpam (civam), leads the soul to the state in which there is no birth or death; it frees it from impurities:

Listen with love (or 'grace'), I answer your question concerning the indestructible cause of liberation (mutti).

If the Āgamas prescribe devotion to the incomparable Guru, to Liṅgam and civarūpam,

to the followers of this loving devotion there is no birth. (51)

The higher *bhakti* is what defines the state of the liberated soul when it is united with God in bliss? The term pati itself is explicitly mentioned in the following verse:

With love tender and melting like that of a cow to its newborn calf,
towards the Śivaguru, Śivayogins, and Śivaliṅgam
the released possess pati that destroys impurities.
Realise this truth, O disciple! (52)

Lastly, the ultimate state, in which the soul, once liberated, is merged into God, is described by means of examples taken from experience as the ineffable and blissful union of the soul with God.

As ripe fruit, flower, fire and viṇai remain united
with juice, smell, heat and melody respectively,
so do the released stand with regard to Śiva
in the relation of oneness; thus say the scriptures. (45)

As the *tattvāṇi* remain united with the self
at the time of bondage, so in the state of release
freed from inborn bondage, the *bhaktas* become one with Śiva:
this is the truth contained in the scriptures. (46)

As the moonshine during the day remains
united with the sunshine, so do souls,
the sacred feet of the Lord Śiva reaching,
in eternal bliss remain united with him. (47)

If the self were to join Śiva, Śiva's fullness [of perfection] might suffer;

if Śiva were to join the self, then the self ought to be different;
if you were to ask about the state without these two kinds,
it would be like the light of the eye of the blind when cured, being united with the
sunlight in oneness. (48)

The soul and God remain united in oneness without losing each his individuality
as body and soul, fruit and juice, flower and smell, fire and heat, music and melody; in
other words, as unity in duality.

29

The Uttarāmnaya and the Purvaṃanya

The energy which devours *Kālikaulika* manifests in this *āmnaya*. She is *Kaleśvari* and practices *Kaulācāra*, contains *Kaula* (*kaulagarbha*), is the arising of *Kaula* and is *Trikaula*. She resides in the Centre of Birth (*jannādhāra*). This is the Supreme Tradition (*paramāmnaya*), *Divyaugha* transmitted "from ear to ear." It is *Kālikākulakrama* and is twelve-fold taught by *Krodharāja* and called Actionless Knowledge (*niṣkriyājñāna*). From the centre of the sun (*Sūrya*) emerges another Sun (*ravi*) which is the inner light that illumines the entire universe. It is surrounded by the rays of the Sun-goddess, *Bhānavikaulinī*, also known as *Kaleśvari* and *Kulagahvari*. She is the rays of the Sun which shines in the centre of the sacrificial hearth of the Great Sky of the Ocean of Śiva. The Great Mantra consisting of the sixty-four *Bhairava* wombs (*yoni*) arises and dissolves here. In the centre of the Hearth of the Sun (*bhānaviṇḍa*) is the Wheel of Dissolution which is one's own true nature (*svastabhāva*). Destroying both Being and Non-being, it is the Fire of Consciousness personified as the goddess *Kulaṣodari*. All this is the Supreme *Brāhman* which is one's own nature (*svastabhāva*).

We are then told that *Niṣkriyānanda* "made manifest in the world this nectar of *Kula* spoken by the yoginī" and so revealed the *Mahākālīkrama*. The text goes on to describe its transmission to *Vidyānanda*. *Vidyānanda* practised Yoga in the guise of a *Siddhaśābana*. His residence was a cremation ground where he practised Yoga at night and delighted in *aula* practice in the company of *Siddhas* and *Vīras*. He worshipped the deity in a cave to the north of the *Śivapīṭha* known as *Śrīśaila*, wishing to attain Actionless Knowledge (*niṣkriyājñāna*). His devotion was so intense that *Niṣkriyānandanātha* finally transmitted to him by word of mouth the secret of the *Kālikākrama*. This is called the Knowledge of the Left (*vāmajñāna*) and the Sequence of Sixty-five Stages. It is the dawning of the Twelve-fold *Kālī* of Light (*Prabhākālī*) in the Sky of Consciousness which arises there in the Sequence which Annihilates Destruction (*samhārasamhārakrama*), so called because the goddess devours all things. This, the *Kālikākrama* is the flux of *Kula* and yet is beyond it. It is the Divine Upper *Maṇḍala* that, fully risen, transcends the mind as the emergence of consciousness that penetrates beyond every level of consciousness and the cosmic flux which it melts away with its rays. Thus the Yogi drinks the incomparable nectar of immortality in the Supreme Sky of consciousness which unfolds spontaneously within

hṛm. This is the Supreme Exuberance (*parollāsa*), the expansion (*vikāsa*) of consciousness which unfolds as *Kaulinī*, and *Kālī* of twelve aspects.

This is the expansion of the Wheel of Kālī (*Kālicakra*), which is the Sun of Kula and its Twelve Rays. This, the Sequence of the Sun (*bhānavikrama*), is the life of every living being and illumines the mind as it rises in the Sky beyond the Sky, intensely aflame and burning up the Three Worlds. As this tradition teaches in this way the secret of both immanent Kula and transcendent Akula, it is called *Kulākulāmnāya*. The twelve-fold goddess of this tradition is identified with the powers symbolised by the twelve vowels and is called Mālinī of the Sequence of Exertion (*udyogaranamālinī*). The Yogi who is truly established in his own nature contemplates this Great Supreme (*mahākrama*), the *Kālikrama* taught by Niṣkriyānandanātha.

The names of the Twelve Suns which dawn as aspects of the Kālī of Light (*Prabhakālī*) are said to be the secret of the *Kaulikagama*. They are: the Kālī of Creation (*Sṛṣṭikālī*), the Kālī of Persistence (*Sthitikālī*), the Kālī of Destruction (*Saṃhārakālī*), the Kālī of Passion (*Raktakālī*), the Good Kālī (*Sukālī*), the Kālī of Control (*Yamīkālī*), the Kālī of Death (*Mṛtyukālī*), the Auspicious Kālī (*Bhadrakālī*), the Kālī of the Supreme Sun (*Paramārṇvakālī*), the Kālī of the great Sun (*Mahāmārtandakālī*), the Terrible Kālī (*Rudrakālī*), the Kālī of the Great Kālī (*Mahākālī*). Kumāri is worshipped in the centre of the circle of these twelve powers.

Analysis

This account of the *āmnāyas* is striking both for the richness of its expression and the heights of the Yogic experiences it conveys through the imposing visionary symbolism of the Kaula traditions it presents. The CMSS is later than the KMT and differs from its doctrinal position in many respects due largely to the development of *paścima* doctrine (see below). Even so, this account is of value to the historian of Kaula Tantra and the *Paścimāmnāya* because of what it tells us about the character of these traditions and their relationship to the *Paścimāmnāya*? Particularly interesting from the latter point of view is the assignment of Trika to the *Pūrvāmnāya* because of the close relationship that the Trika has with the *Paścimāmnāya*—a point we shall deal with latter when discussing how *paścima* doctrine is built up and its historical antecedents. We shall therefore refer to it last after discussing the *Dakṣiṇa*- and *Uttara āmnāyas*.

Dakṣiṇāmnāya

It is clear from this account that the CMSS identifies the Śrīvidyā tradition with the *Dakṣiṇāmnāya*. The presiding goddess of this *āmnāya* is Kāmeśvarī who, initially alone, unites with Kāmadeva. This broadly corresponds to the union of Kāmeśvarī and Kāmeśvara in the centre of *Śricara* locked in the sexual embrace of *Kṣantakalā*. Kāmadeva is the god seed-syllable known as 'Kāmarāja' in the Śrīvidyā school. Amṛtānanda, a major early exponent of Śrīvidyā doctrine, clearly links this seed-syllable with the *Dakṣiṇāmnāya*

In just the same way as does the CMSS. In his *Saṃbhāgyasūdhodaya*, he characterizes the four *āmnāya* among with their attendant features, as symbolic aspects of one of the most important Mantras of this school, namely, the Mantrarāja. Each *āmnāya* contributes to the construction of this Mantra by supplying one of its seed-syllables. The seed-syllable 'Kamaraja' belongs to the *Dakṣiṇāmnāya* and is in the form of Rudra in union with his power, Rudrāṇi. Together they form a couple (*yanmala*). This seed-syllable is also linked to the *Pāścimāmnāya* as its protector. The CMSS also refers to the other three seed-syllables along with Tripurā, as energies of the Goddess Kameśvarī. In the Śrīvidyā tradition they are indeed found together in the innermost triangle of *Śrīcakra* with Tripurā in the centre and Vagośvarī, Vāgbhāva and Bhagamālinī in the corners around her.

Nor can there be any doubt about the Kaula character of the Śrīvidyā school. The NSA describes the form of Śrīvidyā and her Mantra as rising in waves out of the infinite ocean of Kula as if to express her Kaula origins. Indeed, she is expressly said to be "Kulavidyā" which is the Great Vidyā of the yoginis. Accordingly, the *Yoginīhr̥daya* enjoins that she should be worshipped only by those who practice *Kulācāra*. The Goddess Tripurā is young and comely. Her eyes slightly red with wine—the perfect archetype of the Kaula female partner. Tripurā is considered to be the greatest of the goddesses that preside over the phases of the cosmic cycles of time. These are the Nityās which the CMSS says originated in the *Dakṣiṇāmnāya*. As Nityā, Tripurā is Kula, the Supreme deity's sovereign power.

The NSA and YHr, the original Tantras of this school, never refer to the *āmnāya* system of classification. They do, however, talk about their own tradition as divided into four currents which issue from four sacred centres (*maḥāpīṭha*), namely, *Kāmarūpa*, *Jālandhara*, *Pāṇḍyagiri* and *Oḍiyāna*. However, the commentators supported by early sources, equate these with the four *āmnāyas*. They also associate the four *Yuganāthas* with the *āmnāyas* in a manner reminiscent of the *Pāścima* characterisation of the *āmnāyas* as each belonging to one of the four Ages. This connection also brings into the Śrīvidyā tradition an essential element of all-Kaula ritual, namely, the worship of the *Yuganāthas*. Thus, Śrīvidyā is said by Vidyānanda in his commentary on the NSA to be common to all the *āmnāyas*. He also says that it is particularly important in the *Dakṣiṇāmnāya*, thus confirming that the allocation of Śrīvidyā to this quarter is not peculiar to the CMSS. In fact, the presence of Śrīvidyā is apparent in the *Kubjikatantras*. Thus, of Kubjika's three forms as a child, young and old woman, her young form is appropriately identified with the young and beautiful Tripurāsundarī.

Uttarāmnāya

The way in which this *āmnāya* is described in the CMSS is of interest not only to the historian of Kaula Tantra but also to the student of Kashmiri Śaivism, particularly of that part of it which modern scholars call the Krama system, otherwise known as the *Kramaśāsana*, *Kramadarśana* or *Kramanaya* in Kashmiri sources as well in the original Tantras themselves. The focal point of the spirituality of the *Uttarāmnāya* is here presented

as the experience of the Arising of the Sequence of Kālīs (*Kālīkramodaya*). The manner of their arising, as well as the order and names of the Kālīs in this account, is virtually the same as we find in the Āgamic passages quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on Abhinava's exposition of the sequence of Kālīs (*Kālīkrama*) in *Anūkdnyacakra*. Abhinava considered this to be the central teaching of the Krama system, which he syncretises with the *Anuttaratrikakulakrama* (generally simply called "Trika") of which his *Tantrāloka* is a comprehensive manual dealing with the liturgy of this Kaula-cum-Tantric school.

Modern scholars of non-dualist Kashmiri Śaivism generally distinguish between Kula and Krama as if they were two separate schools or to use the current expression 'systems'. In the light of the evidence both from the recently recovered Āgamic sources, as well as that afforded by the Kashmiri authors themselves and their references from the original scriptures, this distinction can be said to be clearly false. The Krama system is a Kaula tradition in every respect. The evidence is enormous in support of this view. We will only refer to a small part of it here, just enough to prove our point.

In the *Kramastotra*, the first of the twelve Kālīs is described as a wave of dense bliss which rises from the ocean of Kula and then merges again in the abyss of Kula. Ultimately, the last Kālī in the series merges in Akula, which is represented generically as the Supreme Abode of the Goddess. In this way, Śakti as Kula merges into Śiva as Akula, having emerged out of her infinite potentiality and traversed through the entire cycle of manifestation, which is nothing but the expression of her own nature. Thus the two, Kula and Akula, constituting the Supreme Kaula reality (*praramaṇḍala*), encompass all of manifestation as an inscrutable union of immanence leading to transcendence and transcendence to immanence. This is pure Kaula doctrine.

Similarly Krama ritual, like Krama doctrine, is Kaula. That Krama ritual at times required the offering and consumption of meat and wine as well as ritual sex is well known to scholars of Kashmiri Śaivism. In Abhinava's exposition of Kaula ritual in of the *Tantrāloka*, he refers to number of Krama works, as does his commentator Jayaratha. These include the *Kramapūjana*, *Kramarahasya*, *Devīpañcaśatikā*, *Kālīkula*, *Mādhavakula*, *Śrīkulakramodaya* and *Tantrarāja-bhāṭṭāraka*. The *Mādhavakula*, which is a part of the *Tantrarājabhāṭṭāraka* that Kashmiris considered to be a major authority on Krama, refers to the type of ritual it expounds as *Kulapūjana*. Abhinava refers to the *Kramapūjana* as an authoritative Tantra in which the Supreme Lord explains the secret essentials of Kula ritual, namely, the worship of the *Yuganāthas* and their consorts, which is a standard necessary preliminary of all-Kaula ritual. Thus Abhinava refers to a Krama text as his authority right at the beginning of his exposition of Kaula ritual. Similarly, in the CMSS the *Yuganāthas* and their consorts are worshipped in the *Pārvānnāya* which in the course of practice comes first, located as it is in the East. Jñānānetranātha (alias Śivānanda) is venerated by Kashmiri Krama authors as the founder of the Krama tradition of which they are direct descendants. He "brought down to earth" a Krama work called the *Yonigahvaratantra* in which he lists the names of the *Yuganāthas* and their associates, proclaiming that they taught the secret of the Kula path (*kulamārga*). It is not surprising, therefore, that Krama is also known as the *Kālīkula* or *Kramakula* in the Āgamic sources

to which Kashmiri authors refer. In short, it appears that although Krama is an independent school (with many subdivisions of its own) it cannot be distinguished from Kula but is, in fact, one of its branches.

We turn now to the next point, namely, the Kālikula's identity as *Uttarāmnāya*. In Maheśvarānanda's time (thirteenth century) the Krama system he adhered to and which he traces back to Śivānanda (so aligning himself unequivocally to the Kashmiri Krama tradition) was considered to be *Uttarāmnāya*. Maheśvarānanda refers to it as "*Auttarāmnāya*" twice and as the "non-dual principle of *Uttara*", which was originally taught by Bhairava to Bhairavi and ultimately transmitted to him as the Krama doctrine he expounds in his *Mahārthamanjari*. By extension he also calls this doctrine that of the "*anuttarāmnāya*" as "the philosophy of absolute (*anuttara*) non-dual consciousness" which leads to liberation in this life in which freedom and enjoyment (*mokṣa* and *bhoga*) are united. Although, as we have already had occasion to remark, neither Abhinava nor the Kashmiri authors before him refer to the Krama system as *Uttarāmnāya*, there is evidence to suggest that it was known as such to some, at least, of the earlier Tantras, although this may not have been its original identity in the earliest sources. Thus the colophons of the *Yonigalvara* by Jñānānandācārya state that its Tantra belongs to the *Orikṛtapaṭha* of the *Uttarāmnāya* and says of itself in the body of the text that it is "the tradition of the Great Teaching," and "the essence of the Northern Kula." Similarly, the colophons of the *Devīpāñcāśatikā* declare that this Tantra, which deals with the *Kālikrama*, belongs to the Northern Tradition.

It transpires from this evidence that, although we can talk of a "Kula system" as a doctrinal standpoint in the context of Kashmiri Śaivism as well as Hindu Tantricism in general, the generic meaning of the term "Kula," when it is used to refer to the entire Kaula tradition with its many schools, is not to be confused with the former sense. Similarly, it appears that the term "Krama," like "Kula", also conveys a broad generic meaning. It refers, in one sense, to the sequence of actions in Kaula ritual, the order of recitation of Mantras, deposition (*nyāsa*) of letters or the seed-syllables of Mantras on the body or on a *maṇḍala*, image or other representation of the deity and its surrounding entourage such as a pitcher or the sacrificial firepit. "Krama" can also mean the liturgy or ritual itself and so is virtually synonymous with the term "*prakriyā*." Again the term "Krama", variously qualified, can serve as the appellation of a Kaula school. Thus the Kashmiri Krama system as a whole is at times called "*Kālikrama*" although the term also refers to the order of the sequence of Kālis worshipped in the course of certain rituals or as a series of states of consciousness. Similarly, the Kūbjikā school or *Pāścimāmnāya* is also sometimes called "*Śrīrama*."

"Krama" and "Kula" are in this sense, to all intents and purposes, virtual synonyms: the expression "*Kālikula*" and "*Kālikrama*" are interchangeable, as are the terms "*Śrīkrama*" and "*Śrīkula*." The term "Krama" lays emphasis on the typical ritual form a particular Kaula school exhibits, while the term "Kula" stresses its doctrinal affiliations and individual identity as a specific Kaula tradition. Thus the combination of the two terms, as in the expressions "*Kālikulakrama*" or "*Śrīkulakrama*", although hardly different from "*Kālikula*" or "*Kālikrama*", etc. focus primarily on the character of

these schools as possessing distinct liturgies of their own. Again, there appears to be a distinction between Kaula schools which were "Kramakulas" (or equally one could say "Kulakramas") and those that were not, in the sense that the Tantras of these schools do not align themselves with any Krama. This is true generally of independent Kaula traditions which had not place in the *āmnāya* system of classification.

Although the *Paścimāmnāya* is a substantial Tantric tradition with a clearly defined identity of its own, and its Tantras contain much that is original, it is, at the same time, built up of diverse elements which it draws from various sources, particularly other Kaula schools. This is a feature common to all these schools in general. Thus, a way in which we can better understand the *Paścimāmnāya* in the broader context of the many Tantric schools which constitute the Āgamic tradition as a whole is through a careful analysis of its constituent elements. By pursuing this approach, we can study the *Paścimāmnāya* as a living tradition whose growth is marked both by the development of its own new ideas and the accretion of others. From this point of view, the integration of Kālī worship to a high level. Of the Four Doors of Kula (*Kuladvāra*), which constitute *Kauladvāra*, the highest is the experience of the Immaculate (*niraijāna*) attained through the Arising of the Sequence of the Cycle of Kālis (*Kālīcarakramodaya*), that is, the Wheel of Time. The Yogi who contemplates its successive phases assimilates through it into his own consciousness the one Ultimate Reality which is both the multiplicity of diversity and unity of oneness. This sequence is that of *Andhāya* (the Inexpressible), which is a wellknown feature of the Krama system.

According to the KMT, Kālī (as *Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī* or *Guhyeśvarī*) is merely a minor manifestation of Kubjikā. In the KNT, which postdates the KMT, Kubjikā is occasionally considered to be a form of Kālī called "Kālikāli, which is probably an abbreviated form of "Kubjikākālī. The MBT, which is later than the KMT, but probably earlier than both the CMSS and KNT, identifies Kālī with Kubjikā, the Supreme Goddess. Moreover, the Śrīkrama of the Kubjikā school and the Kālikrama are juxtaposed as two Kramas, one belonging to the Western Tradition *Paścimāmnāya* and the other to the Northern—*Uttarāmnāya*. By the time we reach the CMSS, the Kālikrama is fully integrated into *Paścima* doctrine and they are virtually linked together by their common esoteric Kaula character.

Before we conclude this section and proceed to discuss the *Pūrvāmnāya* and its relationship to the Kubjikā school, we should take note of an important historical reference in the CMSS's treatment of this *āmnāya*, namely that the cycle of Kālis here described was taught by Niṣkriyānandanātha to Vidyānanda. The CMSS agrees here with other sources, according to which the line of transmission of the Kālikrama teaching is as follows: Niṣkriyānandanātha (consort Jñānādīpti) Vidyānanda (consort Raktā)—Śaktyānanda (consort Mahānandā)—Śivānanda (consort Samayā). We are told by Jayaratha that these teachers and consorts were worshipped as a standard part of the preliminaries to *Kaulapūja* in works such as the *Devipāñcaśatikā* and the *Kālikula*. The *Yonigahvara* refers to this line of teachers directly after the standard group of *Yuganāthas*

and entourage, and so integrates the two groups as those of Kaula masters who are all equally worthy of veneration. There seems to be little reason to doubt that the Niṣkriyānanda and the Vidyānanda of the CMSS are the same as the teachers mentioned in these sources. However, although the fact that Niṣkriyānanda figures in the CMSS as the revealer of an original transmission is significant, this is not in itself enough evidence to prove that he was the founder of the Karma system as a whole. Perhaps we may attribute to him the distinction of having been the first to have realised this particular sequence of Kālīs. But before saying anything definite about this, we must first examine the earlier Āgamic sources to understand the historical antecedents of the Karma system as a distinct school.

The Pūrvamnāya

The CMSS clearly identifies Trika with the *Pūrvamnāya* through which the original Kaula teachings were transmitted by the *Yuganāthas*. Thus the masters which every Kaula, whatever, school he may belong to, should venerate as the founders of Kaulism as a whole are here all made to belong to the *Trikaṁathikā*. We do not possess enough of the early sources to be able to compare directly what the original Āgamic Trika tradition has had to say about this? Fortunately, however, Abhinavagupta explains in his *Tantrāloka* how Kaula ritual should be performed by Kashmiri Trika Śaivites.

The way in which Abhinava conceives the relationship between the *Yuganāthas* and the Trika principle (and hence, by implication, their relationship with Trika Śaivism) agrees well enough with the CMSS for us to be reasonably sure that Abhinava must have based his account on Āgamic sources. Moreover, although he deals with several Kaula rites described

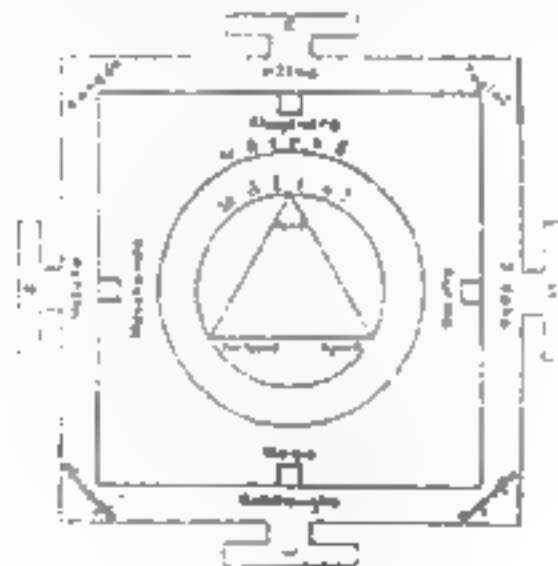


Fig. 29. 1 Siddhācakra

in different Tantras, he is not solely concerned with them alone but seeks, in broader terms, to explain the method (*prakriyā*) that underlies all Kaula ritual. In other words, what he has to say is, from his point of view, universally applicable by all Kaula Śaivites. This is particularly true of the worship of the *Yuganāthas*, which he describes at the beginning of his account, to which we now turn.

TABLE 29.1
The Yuganāthas, their Consorts and Disciples according to the Tantrāloka

Direction	Yuganātha	Consort	Disciple	Consort
East	Khagendra-nātha	Vijjambā	Viktaṣṭi Vimala	Illāiambā Anantamekhalā
South	Kūrmanātha	Maṅgalā	Jaitra Avijita	Illāiambā Ānandamekhalā
West	Meṣanātha	Kāmamaṅgalā	Vindhya Ajita	Kullāiambā Ajaramekhalā
North	Macchandra-nātha	Kuṅkumāmbā	(Six Princes) Amaranātha Varadeva-nātha Citranātha Alinātha Vindhya-nātha Gudikānātha	(Consort) Sillai Eruṇā Kumārī Bodhāi Mahālacchī Aparamekhalā

As a prelude to the rite proper, the officiant must first purify himself. He does so in this case by projecting the *Parā* and *Mālinī* Mantras onto his body in the prescribed manner and, once filled with their cosmic power, then identifying himself with Bhairava. He now offers libations to Bhairava and the circles of his energies that surround him, which are identified with the officiant's own sensory and mental powers. This is done by drinking a mixture of male and female sexual fluid (*kuṇḍagolaka*) from a sacrificial jar previously filled for this purpose. According to Abhinava, the officiant attains in this way a vision of the fullness of his universal nature which has been rendered brilliantly manifest by the energy of the sacrificial offering. He has, therefore, no need to do anything else unless he wishes to see this same fullness manifest also in the outer world through the outpouring of his sensory energies, in which case he proceeds to perform the outer ritual. This beings, as usual, with the worship of the Kaula teachers in a sacred circle (*maṇḍala*) drawn on the ground with coloured powders. The form of this *maṇḍala*, called "*siddhacakra*", is basically as we have illustrated it here. See Figure 29.1 The *Yuganāthas* with their consorts and disciples are worshipped in the inner square. Their names are as shown in Tables 29.1

The names of these teachers as well as those of their consorts and disciples are substantially the same as those recorded in the CMSS. Moreover the names of the *ovallīs* and *pīṭhas* associated with the Six Princes, according to the CMSS, agree exactly with Abhinava's account and the *Kulakṛīḍāvatāra*, which Jayaratha quotes in his commentary. Note, incidentally, that the names of the *ovallīs* in these accounts do not quite agree with the KRU. Abhinava does not record the town (*nagara*) associated with the Six Princes but lists instead their *ghara* (literally "house") and *pallī* (literally "village").

More interesting than the coincidence of these details is the formation and identity of the triangle in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Abhinava explains the form of this triangle and the way in which it is worshipped in his *Parātrīṃśikāvivaraṇa*. The triangle represents the divine matrix (*yoni*), in the centre of which resides Kuleśvari, in her aroused state, in union with Parānandabhairava from whom flows Kula, the blissful power of emission (*visargaśakti*), through which the cosmic order is generated. The triangle (whose micro-cosmic equivalent is the female sexual organ) is worshipped by contemplating this creative flow of bliss in the unity of universal consciousness. This can be done either directly in elevated states of consciousness and/or through the ecstatic experience of physical organism.

It seems that the CMSS refers to this distinctly Trika practice when it remarks that the goddess emerges from the centre of its energies along with Paramānandabhairava. In this way "Kula emerges in the womb of Kula" (*ibid.*) and the worship of the *Yuganāthas* bears fruit. The *maṇḍala* in which the *Yuganāthas* are worshipped is divided into five sections, namely:

- (1) the Mantras of the Trika goddess,
- (2) the Kaula masters,
- (3) the sphere of the flux of the Wheel of Mālinī which corresponds to the vital breath,
- (4) the sphere of the Wheel of *Mātrīkā* corresponding to the activity of consciousness, and
- (5) the outer square representing the senses.

These together constitute Kula, the micro-and macro-cosmic Totality. In the centre resides Kuleśvari who can be worshipped in the form of any of the three Trika goddesses, either alone or with Kuleśvara, her consort. We can conclude, therefore, that the CMSS records, in broad terms, the manner in which the *Yuganāthas* are worshipped in the Trikakula. Associated with the *Pūrvāmnāya*, they are the first to be worshipped in the order of the *āmnāyas* and so accorded a peculiarly high status, which at the same time sets them apart from the *Paścimāmnāya* and its own line of transmission, while integrating them into it.

We move on now to our next object of enquiry, namely, the relationship between these *āmnāyas* and Trika. The *Kularatnoddyota* repeatedly associates the *Pūrvāmnāya* with the *Paścimāmnāya*. The Kaula tradition with which this Tantra is associated develops, it says, in these two forms. Thus the KRU at times combines both together. For example, the fire ritual, *maṇḍala* and initiation is said to be explained in according with the ritual procedures of both traditions. At the same time, however, the two traditions are also distinguished. Thus it is clearly stated in places that the rituals and elements of the *Pūrvāmnāya*. For example, in a sequence of sixty-four energies divided in the usual pattern of eight times eight (which in this case are eight energies associated with eight sacred places), the eight powers (*mātrī*) belonging to Prayāga are said to originate from the *Pūrvā* tradition. But even though the KRU admits that ■ has borrowed from the *Pūrvāmnāya*, it maintains that the *Pūrvāmnāya* as ■ whole is derived from the *Paścimāmnāya* and that this is why they are essentially similar. The *Pūrvāmnāya* is a direct offshoot of the Kubjikā

tradition and is similar to it in every respect, just as a reflection is a reproduction of the reflected object.

The KRU's account of the origin of the *Pūrvāmnāya* associates it with Mitrānātha, a wellknown *Pāścima* master. Mitrānātha was a direct disciple of Vṛkṣnātha who, as an incarnation of the goddess Kubjikā, brought the *Pāścima* teaching down into the world during this Era. Accordingly, insofar as the *Pūrvāmnāya* is derived from *Pāścimāmnāya* in this way, the goddess enquires how the *Pūrvāmnāya* arose from it. The account of its origin which follows is basically a variant of many similar myths which explain how Matsyendranātha received the Kaula teachings. Here the story goes that Pārvaṭī taught the *Pūrvāmnāya* to her son, Skanda, secretly from a book. For some unexplained reason Skanda became angry and in a fit of rage threw the book into the sea where it was swallowed by a fish (*mīnaka*). In the belly of this fish resided a great Siddhā who read the book and practiced the Yoga it taught and so grew powerful and full of splendour. From the belly of this fish emerged Ādinātha in the form of Matsyendranātha.

A connection is here clearly being made between the first Kaula teacher of this era, Matsyendranātha, and the *Pūrvāmnāya*, as it is in the CMSS. However, the KRU does not equate the *Pūrvāmnāya* with Trika, although it knows of the *Trikatantra* as an independent group which it mentions alongwith the *Siddhānta*, *Vāma*, *Bhūta* and *Garuḍa* Tantras as well as the *Kāpālika* *Somasiddhānta*, amongst others. In a long list of Tantras at the beginning of this work, the *Siddhādevīmahātāntra* is mentioned which is clearly none other than the *Siddhayogaeśvarīnata*. We have already noted that both CMSS and KMT refer to this, the root *Trikatantra*.

Indeed, there can be little doubt that Trika is an important element of the *Pāścimāmnāya*. Thus the worship of the three goddesses, *Parā*, *Parāparā* and *Aparā*, which is a distinguishing characteristic of Trika, is an important feature of the Kubjikā cult as well. Their Mantras are the same as those of the Trika, as are those of the male consorts associated with them, namely, *Bhairavasambhava*, *Ratīśekhara* and *Navātmā*. *Trīdas* in general are a prominent feature of the *Pāścimāmnāya*; we often find groups of three related to one another. The goddess Kubjikā herself is three-fold in the form of a young girl, maiden and old woman. Moreover, she is explicitly said to be three-fold as the union of the goddesses *Parā*, *Parāparā* and *Aparā*. An important triad is here, just as it is from the Kashmiri Trika, that of *Śambhava*, *Śakta* and *Aṇava*, which are three basic ritual patterns at one level, and at the inner level of consciousness correspond—as in the Trika—to will, knowledge and action. Cosmic counterparts are attributed to them in the form of the Three Worlds into divided into these three types, which is why there are three types of initiation (*devīdikṣā*) through which the Śrīkaram becomes manifest? Even more vital and fundamental than these similarities are the basic forms of the Mantric codes adopted by the Kubjikā cult, namely, those of *Śabdarāśī* and *Mālinī*. They are the very backbone of the entire Mantric system of this tradition, just as they are of that of Trika, so much so that the god tells the goddess in the KRU that:

The *Trikatantra* will be constructed by the conjunction of the parts primary and secondary, of the three Vidyās alongwith *Mālinī* and *Śabdarāśī*.

Although the use of the future here implies that the god is going to make *Trikatantra* after the revelation of the Kubjikā cult, there can be little doubt that Trika precedes the *Kubjikātantra* and it is the later which has borrowed from the former, not the other way around. Indeed, in place these Tantras themselves inform us that they have drawn elements from *Trikatantras*. Moreover, the oldest known *Pāścimantantra*, the *Kubjikāmata*, must be later than the first *Trikatantra*, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, because it refers to it. Again, the MBT and KRU both know Trika as Trika. This means that they were redacted when Āgamic Trika had reached an advanced stage of development because the earliest Tantras that taught Trika doctrine and ritual, such as the SYM, did not consider themselves to be *Trikatantras*. Thus the KMT, which is earlier than the MBT and KRU, does not refer to Trika as a school, possibly because it proceeds this phase of Trika's development. Whether, this is the case or not, it is a significant fact that the later *Pāścimatantras* know of Trika's existence especially because reference to Trika is rare in the primary sources. Moreover, that the CMSS knows the *Trikasāra*, an extensive *Trikatantra* frequently referred to by the Kashmiris, shows that the followers of the Kubjikā cult continued to consult Trika sources throughout its development. It is significant, from this point of view, that ■ ■ in Nepal, where the Kubjikā cult flourished, that the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* has been recovered. This is probably because it was felt to be related to the Kubjikā cult and so was copied and preserved.

30

Vaisnavism and Śaivism

While there was monopoly of Śaivism, a faith of Kruṣṇa crept into Orissa in the guise of Śiva, and really it was Mādhava, the *via media* between Kruṣṇa and Jagannātha in one hand, and Śiva and Indra in the other. So these all formed the foundation of Vaisnavism or rather Kruṣṇism.

Of course, as like as the Buddha, Viṣṇu was presented in the line of Śiva and during the Purāṇic age, he was represented in the form of Linga. He was also represented as the Energy of Śiva. In mystic orientation he was represented lying on a three-coiled serpent in the heart of Kṣīrasagara. It was his Yogic sleep. In his sleeping he was attended by his feminine-energies; Laxmi and Bhūmi. But his lotus navel the functionaries of Creation, Preservation and Disintegration resided. But still he could not win over the common people. In the early temples of Orissa he remained subordinate to Śiva. He was depicted as a subsidiary god in the Svamajalesvara temple of 7th Century A.D. About the 5th-6th centuries. A.D., Narayana was Paramadaivata to the Mathura king, Anantasakti Varman, but it is not known if the king had done anything for the development of Vaisnavism. From these above instances it may be said that though Vaisnavism entered into Orissa since 5th-6th Centuries. A.D., it was in suppression for the high tide of Śaivism till the end of 7th century A.D.

May not be Viṣṇu, but how was Kruṣṇa away from Kalinga, Kosala and Udra ? People were aware of the phallic god. Though Viṣṇu was one appellation of the Sun, he did not possess the attributes of phallism. Moreover, personal gods were more appreciable than the cosmic gods. From the point of these two reasons, Viṣṇu would have not been appreciated by the people of these three kingdoms. But the case of Kruṣṇa was different. Historically, Vāsudeva Kruṣṇa was a man of Yadava-Sattvata-Vṛṣṇi family in Mathura region and his exaltation to godhood began from about 800 B.C. He was accepted only by the Yadavas as god-head. The Yadavas were moved towards the South. The South was the ancient home of Śaivism. So Kruṣṇa was modelled as a synthesis of life-like and god-like. Prior to the beginning of Christian era he had been an infant edition of Śiva. Still prior to that period, there were sculptural images showing fighting between Śiva and Ambā in one and in the other marriage between them at Mahēśvara in the Deccan. It is not known if there was any legend about their dalliance. Of course, Kalidasa

had done his best about it in the Kumara Sambhava. We have told before hand that Kalidasa was quite aware of the interaction of the Āryan and the non-Āryan cultures, and his literary works were based on this knowledge. Moreover, Panini is known to have written 'Pārvati-Parinaya' Kavya. Again, Kṛṣṇa has much similarity with the birth episode of Zorathustra of the Gathas, Avesta. Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Devaki and Kamsa were the Indian editions of Zorathustra, Pourushaspa, Dugdhova and the tyrant. Though there is no definite source, mischief and virility were added to Kṛṣṇa. He came as a substitute of phallic god.

One sculptural representation of Vāsudeva is there at Burhikhar in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. Now Vāsudeva is worshipped as Caturbhuji Bhagawana. He is represented as an attendant of Viṣṇu. This image has four hands, the upper left and right hands holding Cakra and Gada respectively, and the lower two joined in the Anjali pose. This image has been assigned to a period of about 1st century B.C. In the South Yajna Satakarni of 2nd Century A.D. had worshipped Vāsudeva as Viṣṇu.

Bilaspur was not far away from the Western limits of Udra and it was within Kalinga under Nala rulers of about 5th-6th century A.D. It is not impossible that rumours and legends of about Kṛṣṇa had come to Orissa during beginning of the Christian era. It is always true that deities come into being by legends and become popular through rumours, which take no time to spread far and wide. Secondly, in the Sangam literature of Tamilakam Viṣṇu was Māl and Kṛṣṇa was Kannan. The Tolkappiyam mentions of about pastoral region in the name of Mullai and in that region Kṛṣṇa was also known as Māl. In the later Hindu literature Kṛṣṇa became the pastoral god but not Viṣṇu. It seems Māl and Kannan were equated sometime prior to Christian era; This idea can be seen with Satakarni worshipping Vāsudeva and with Chaturbhuji in Bilaspur. His pastoral character brought him green clour. The Akananuru speaks about Māl's divine play. When the shepherdesses of the pastoral region were bathing in Jamuna river leaving their clothes on its bank, Māl or Kannan took away those clothes and placed these on the branches of Kurunta tree. At that time Balaraman, the elder brother of Kannan, came that way. One seeing him, those girls wanted to cover up their nudity. Out of compassion, Māl lowered the branches of the tree and the shepherdesses could get their cloths. This is the popular myth in the Bhagavata. N. Balusamy did not say anything about the time of prevalence of such myth in the South. Kṛṣṇa has been modelled in the Indian religious scriptures on the basis of Zorathustra, Heracles and Śiva. It is not known where lies the seed of such myth, but wherever, Kṛṣṇa's *Mahima* spread there spread the myth.

Such a legend called "*Kaliā Puri*" is prevailing among the tribes of Ghumsar area of Ganjam district. The legend has been recorded by R.N. Pareek and J.E.F. Pareira. The legend is that "some generations ago a youth of Tom Usmandi 'muth' or group of villages in Ghumsar, while hunting in the forest, came suddenly on a group of girls bathing in a stream in a state of nature. The sight filled him with indelicate desires, but he dared not make his presence known to the fair bathers because they were his kinswomen from the same sept as his own. The next day, and the day after, and for many days following, the

amorous youth returned to the spot and watched the nymphs surreptitiously from a bush, until one unlucky day he was discovered. His improper overtures were repulses with the greatest loathing by the indignant maidens. So, in anger, he took away their clothes which were lying on the edge of the stream and disappeared into jungles, knowing his returning to the village meant death, he became a wanderer and eventually made his way to Tin Part district in Orissa where he founded the '*Kaliā puri*' or the thief sept." There is no such district in Orissa, it may be Tinpahar of Bihar. The legend '*Kaliā Puri*' may refer to establishment of Māl of the South at Puri.

We have seen that neither Viṣṇu, nor Kruṣṇa, nor Narayan has any distinct place in the religious history of Orissa till the 7th Century A.D. Establishment of Māl of the South as '*Kaliā Puri*' may be the developed stage of Vaisnavism in Orissa. Māl is no other than their Mādhava or Nīlamādhava who has been transformed into Jagannātha. The Sabaras of Ghumsar area might have been aware of the dalliance of Māl much before the incidence occurred in their locality. Transformation of Māl or Mādhava into Jagannātha is the real history of Vaisnavism in Orissa and it causes a set back to Śaivism. So we will see it later (*Infra*, (Ch. V).

The Vilāsa Principle of Neo-Śaivism

Ācārya Amṛtavāgbhava, the originator of Neo-Śaivism, was born in 1903 under the name Vaidyanātha Varakale into a family of Brahmin scholars from Varanasi who were living at the time in Allahabad. The family's ancestors had originally come from Vidarbha in Western Maharashtra, and for generations had been producing scholars of Sanskrit. Members of this family rarely took employment of any kind, but mostly lived on offerings from students and listeners as they taught and propagated the Sanskrit language and the holy books.

During Vaidyanātha Varakale's sacred thread ceremony in 1919, he received initiation in Śrī-Vidyā and accepted Bālā Tripurā as his favourite deity. As a result of his faithful adoration of the deity, he had a vision of sage Durvāsas who appeared before him at the dead of night in his ancestral home in Varanasi and taught him the exact method of Śāmbhava Yoga known to the Trika system of Śaivism. A regular practice in this Yoga resulted in his intuitive realisation of the main philosophical principles of what he would later discover to be Kashmir Śaivism. At this point his only exposure to Trika Śaivism had been certain hymns that he had memorised in praise of Śiva and Śakti.

Vaidyanātha Varakale, who later became famous under his pen-name, Amṛtavāgbhava, received higher education at Queen's Sanskrit College in Varanasi when M.M. Upādhyāya Śrī Gopināth Kavirāj was serving as principal. Dr. Kavirāj advised him to study Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra. He read it along with the commentary by Yogarāja, and found the same philosophical principles discussed in it that he had already discovered through his Yogic experience. He then went on to study the Mahārthana Śarīparīmala of Maheśvarānanda, and Bhoja's Tattvaparakāśa. He was very gratified to find that in these works too, his own experiences agreed with the views of these ancient masters.

In 1926, when he was working as a research scholar at the Sarasvatī Bhavan Library in Varanasi, he composed Paramaśivastota, a text adoring Śiva in the form of the thirty-six *tattvas*, inspired by his own personal experiences during the practice of Śāmbhava Yoga.

In 1928, he left his home and took up the life of a wandering monk. He travelled in various parts of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, and Jammu-Kashmir, seeing most of the sacred places of these states. At many of these sites he

experienced different types of strange and wonderful visions. Most of these he described later in his Siddhamahārahasya. Later on he continued his journeys in Rajasthan, Bombay, Hyderabad, and finally to Calcutta in the east. During his travels, he wrote many philosophical and religious texts, and composed secular poetry along with hymns to different deities.

During his wandering in Kashmir, he studied the works of the ancient masters Abhinavagupta, Utpaladeva, Somānanda, and others. He was always astonished to find in these texts the same philosophical principles that he had intuitively experienced during the practice of Śāmbhava Yoga as taught to him by sage Durvāsas in that vision years earlier.

Ācārya Amṛtavāgbhava has become known as the originator of Neo-Śaivism. While he wrote widely on philosophy, politics, and religion, as well as composing many hymns and poems, Ātmavilāsa, Viṃśatikāśāsta, and Siddhāmahārahasya are his most important works on the non-dualistic philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism.

In this chapter we will examine Vilāsasiddhānta, the most important philosophical principle of Neo-Śaivism, which appears in Amṛtavāgbhava's principle work, Ātmavilāsa. This text was written in 1934 while the Ācārya was on tour in the Kashmir valley.

Vilāsa is one of those complex Sanskrit words that is exceedingly difficult to translate into one or two equivalent English words. It can be best understood as that essential nature of the Absolute that has been called Līlā in Vaiṣṇavism, and alēvarya in Śaivism. Throughout this text we have used the term "divine essence" to approximate the complex notion implied by this principle.

The word Vilāsa has been translated as "luxurious dalliance", but this unfortunately implies a possible decadence, or wasteful laziness. In English, dalliance can also mean amorous play or flirtation, which is closer to the idea that this word conveys. Vilāsa is a strong word with no negative connotations. It implies the stirring and blissful sexual interaction with a lover who is both virile and at ease due to complete freedom and a transcendence of time. Vilāsa includes the idea of a playful, adiant, virile, spontaneous, and leisurely form of erotic play. It describes the amorous couple during their most enticing and rapture-filled exchange. Yet while this form of sexual encounter with the lover forms the basis of this term, *vilāsa* has far broader connotations. It implies that one's interactions with the whole environment will be infused and permeated with this expectant and exuberant quality.

More specifically, the word *vilāsa* can be divided into the prefix *vi* and the root *las*. *Las* carries many meanings, but is frequently used to denote both a dance and beauty. In this case *las* is the gentle loving dance of Pārvatī, as opposed to *tāṇḍava*, the strong and sometimes destructive dance of Śiva. The prefix *vi* is an intensifier that suggests excellence and abundance. Knowing the above conditions, we could translate *vilāsa* with the term "divine play," or "divine exuberance".

Let us now review the Kashmir Śaivite theory of creation and its central concept

of divine essence, known as *Vilāsa* in Neo-Śaivism. The whole universe, all phenomena and their functions, are the manifestation of the divine exuberance (*vilāsa*) of the non-dualistic Absolute. This Absolute is the only eternally existent reality, and is described as radiant, infinite, all-containing, and perfectly pure I-consciousness. It is totally aware of its own divine potency, and this awareness has been described as a kind of subtle movement of spiritual stirring called *spanda*. This stirring is, in essence, that infinite blissfulness of the Absolute that sets in motion the outward illumination of Its divine nature. Consciousness starts to shine with a strong will to express itself externally. In the initial blissful stirrings of this will, the nature of absolute Consciousness shines with omniscience and omnipotence.

At the next level of manifestation this stirring starts to shine as a dramatic play. It reflects outwardly the divine powers of the Absolute, which shine as the thirty-six elements from Śiva to earth. These outward reflections appear not only as phenomenal objects but also as subjects—as all types of sentient beings. As ordinary people we embody all thirty-six *tattvas*, yet we do not understand the divine nature of our true Self—the Absolute. We think of ourselves as being some combination of our body and mind, experience ourselves as having limited capabilities, see the world as different from ourselves, and move in cycles of transmigration according to the divine law of retribution (*karman*).

The Absolute, shining above the highest level of the thirty-six *tattvas*, bestows Its divine grace on us. At this point we become transformed, search for a teacher, develop an interest in spiritual philosophy, receive initiation, practice with intense devotion, and finally realise that we are none other than the absolute and infinite I-consciousness which is calmly delighting in the play of creating the universe. Throughout this creation, Consciousness is manifesting its own divine power. In the form of all things which shine within It, just as reflections shine in a crystal. This realisation gives us perfect satisfaction, and we feel we finally attained the highest possible state. All this is the exuberant play of absolute consciousness.

In the divine play, as described above, we experience the outward manifestation of the Lord's divine essence which appears as the dramatic show of the five divine cosmic activities: creation, preservation, dissolution, Self-oblivion, and Self-recognition. In Neo-Śaivism, this fivefold play of God is called the *vilāsa* of the Lord. This *vilāsa* is His essential nature, and it causes him to continuously manifest this quality through these five divine activities.

Acārya Amṛtavāgbhava's first important text, *Ātmanvilāsa*, is centered on this principle of *Vilāsa*. This theory of the divine has been discussed in different contexts in all the main chapters of the text. A perfect Śiva Yogin experiences everything in phenomenal existence as the *vilāsa* of his Self because all things, including himself, are simply expressions of this divine exuberance. Such yogins actually experience their own self as none other than Lord Śiva, the absolute God. Seeing one's own *vilāsa* in all things is correct knowledge and liberation, while not seeing this is ignorance and bondage.

In the Introduction we have already shown how the Kashmir Śaiva concept of the

divine differs from other schools of Indian philosophy, and the same holds true with the concept of *vilāsa* in Neo-Śaivism. According to Śrī Vāgbhava the various concepts of theism that occur in the theistic schools, and the atheism of the atheistic schools, are simply further examples of the *vilāsa* of the Absolute. This is the case for all subjects, objects, and means of knowing. This *vilāsa* of God is thus the central theory of the Neo-Śaivite philosophy.

In the following overview of the text *Ātmavilāsa*, we can easily recognise all the main principles of the ancient non-dualistic Śaivism from Kashmir as they are reinterpreted with the term *vilāsa*. In the first verse Ācārya Amṛtavāgbhava focuses on *vilāsa* as the cause of the divine activities of God, thus, dismissing the notions of illusion (*māyā*), ignorance (*avidyā*), innate propensity (*vāsanā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), the restlessness of *rajas*, etc. as root causes of manifestation. He speaks of this *vilāsa* as being ever new and freshly charming.

In the first verse of the second chapter the Ācārya establishes the following tenets (1) God is great by virtue of His *vilāsa* which is His essential nature; (2) Through His *vilāsa* He manifests His own Self as all phenomena; (3) He is eternally elevated to this position of authority (His divine essence); (4) He excels all other divine authorities.

In the second verse of this chapter, he clarifies that because of His *vilāsa*, absolute Consciousness is spoken of as Śiva and Śakti, or as Lord and His divine essence. Śiva is the noumenal aspect, and Śakti the phenomenal aspect, and both are just two phases of *vilāsa*. In the third verse he says: "Vilāsa is not different from Ātman, and Ātman is not different from *vilāsa*. This is the real monism, shining as existence, consciousness, and blissfulness in their perfect unity" (*Ātmavilāsa*, II.3). Ātman is the Lord and *vilāsa* is His divine essence. These are just two ideas about one reality.

In the fourth verse of the author points out how different philosophers are only describing the *vilāsa* of the Lord as it manifests itself at different levels of His dramatic play of phenomenal creation. It is therefore the *vilāsa* of the Lord that is discovered and described as the doctrine of "new creation" (*ārambhavāda*) by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, as the doctrine of "transformation" (*pariṇāmavāda*) by the Sāṃkhya and Yogins, as *Vivartavāda* by the Advaita Vedāntins, as *viśānvāda* by the Buddhists, and as atheism by the atheists.

In the twelfth verse of Ācārya clarifies that the blissfulness of the Ātman arises from the awareness of His pure and divine Consciousness. Pure consciousness is not static like physical space. It is full of the stirrings of Self-awareness, and this awareness illuminates the blissfulness of the Ātman. Even this most subtle and essential nature of the Ātman, this stirring of awareness, is set in motion by His *vilāsa*.

The *vilāsa* of the Ātman is further described in chapter three of *Ātmavilāsa*. The Lord is again described as nothing but pure Consciousness, and as containing everything within Himself in the form of pure Consciousness alone (*Ātmavilāsa*, III. 1). In the third verse of this chapter the author says: "Only God is truly independent because He alone shines independently through the luminosity of His own pure consciousness. All other forms of life, from Brahmā (the creator) to a lowly plant, operate under His *vilāsa*."

Verses eight and nine explain how the things of this world that we experience and dualities, having been manifested by the ātman through His *vilāsa*, are not absolute truth. There is a wonderful and perfect reality that transcends all dualities and concepts. This transcendent reality consists of existence consciousness, and blissfulness. "It is the Infinite Self-awareness, and 'that I am'" (Ātmavilāsa, III. 8, 9).

The fourth chapter of Ātmavilāsa deals with the principle of absolute and pure knowledge (*mahāvidyā*). In the first verse, Absolute Reality is called *Mahāvidyā*, which, due to its *Vilāsa*, manifests itself as both correct knowledge (*vidyā*), and ignorance (*avidyā*). The Ācārya points out that ignorance is not an adventitious entity (*upādhi*), somehow having its existence outside of Absolute Reality, or *mahāvidyā*, as it is being called here. Because pure knowledge has *vilāsa* as its essential nature, It appears playfully as ignorance as well as knowledge. In Neo-Śaivism, as in its ancient form, the source of ignorance is found within the *vilāsa* of the Absolute.

In the second verse of the Ācārya explains further that both knowledge and ignorance are sentiment because both have been manifested by the *vilāsa* of the ātman. However, because knowledge does not include ignorance, and ignorance does not include knowledge, both are imperfect. Only pure knowledge, appearing the form of both ignorance and knowledge, and including both within itself, is perfect in character. In other words, we must look beyond the limitations at the level of creation to find and recognise the perfect source of all that is.

The fifth chapter of this work deals further with the notions of purity and impurity. Here the Ācārya explains how the Absolute, which is perfectly pure, appears itself in the form of relative purity and impurity. He says: "The everblissful Lord is an expert in raising purity to its full bloom. He, having descended (to the grossest levels through his *vilāsa*, and ascending again (to the subtlest levels), in accordance with His own will, rises up (to perfection), experiencing His Self-bliss throughout the whole process" (Ātmavilāsa, IV.4).

Purity is experienced as most brilliant when it appears in comparison with impurity. The Lord, by descending to the level of an ordinary human being, creates a show of intense impurity. Then, when he raises that person up, the highest level of purity will be experienced as especially wonderful in comparison to the previous impure level. This whole cycle of devolution and evolution is explained as being merely the *vilāsa* of the Lord. A person's experience of limitation and finitude, the vision of diversity, the personal association with insentient substances like the physical body, and the feelings of responsibility for deeds committed by one's body, mind, senses, and organs, are all considered impure in Śaivism. Identity with the infinite and pure I-consciousness, a non-dualistic view; toward all phenomena, feelings of omniscience and omnipotence, etc., are considered pure in Śaivism. And ultimately, the awareness of one's natural purity is not as wonderful as its realisation in comparison with impurity. It is the discovery of one's real nature of absolute purity, after having been bound in impurity, which is the apex of the divine exuberance (*vilāsa*) of the Lord.

In the fourteenth verse, the Ācārya points out that the Lord never becomes involved in His deeds, but shines like a lamp as a witness to them all. Similarly, the perfect Śiva Yogins see all phenomena, alongwith the various functions of these phenomena, as their own playful *vilāsa*. Verse twenty-four describes the perfection of their sacrifice as follows:

Perfectly pure beings, having evolved the world through their own natural *vilāsa*, and offering all things as oblations to the sacred fire of their own pure and perfect Consciousness, excel all while drinking deep the nectar of the blissfulness of their own *vilāsa*, vibrating within their heart (Ātmavilāsa, IV. 24).

Such a *yogin* takes up the limitations of the world, absorbs them into himself, and offers them into the sacred fire of pure I-consciousness. The ability to thus transform the mundane and limited into the finest and purest is the highest goal of all life.

The back chapter of Ācārya discusses the active and nonactive aspects of the Absolute. The Lord performs all deeds while remaining untouched by their purity or impurity, or by responsibility for their results. God playfully conducts His five divine activities, while remaining completely free of any purpose or aim connected to the process. It is simply His nature, *vilāsa*, to keep this phenomenal play in constant motion. Because He is not involved in any goal, He remains free from all responsibility for the results. "He simply shines always the perfect 'doer' of everything" (Ātmavilāsa, VI. 24). All of this amazing universe, its creation, sustenance, and dissolution, along with God's Self-obscuraton and Self-recognition, is nothing but the *vilāsa* of the real *ātman*.

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The Viraśaivas

The South Indian Viraśaivas, or Liṅgāyatas, have been often and uncritically called a "sect" and compared to Protestant Christian forms of religion. Insofar as they are distinct and to some extent separate from their Brāhmanical Hindu neighbours, the appellation is acceptable; and insofar—as they are a reformatory movement within a broader religious tradition, the comparison is apt. Under closer scrutiny and more accurate analysis, however, the Viraśaivas exhibit many characteristics which are not at all "sect"-like, in the technical sense which that term has acquired within the comparative study of religious institutions through the work of Troeltsch, Weber, and numerous others.

The inaptitude of the sectarian characterisation becomes clear when attention is given to focussed study of a pivotal Viraśaiva text, the fifteenth century Śūnyasampādana. In that text, several competing ideals for what Viraśaivism should be like emerge and compete, in a way which ultimately belies simplistic efforts to treat the movement simply as a "sect" and which reveals a much richer vision of the movement's nature as it develops into a regionally pervasive ecclesia. But, before such detailed analysis can bear fruit, it is helpful to make a broader investigation of Viraśaivism based largely upon contemporary secondary literature and to note different major visions of the movement and its institutional organisation which are implicit in that literature.

The Liṅgāyatas, or Viraśaivas, are a group of South Indian Śaivabhaktas common in Karmāṭaka State. There they comprise a pervasive community which constitutes roughly one-sixth the population of the state as a whole and over one-third the population in certain districts. As the largest single caste or caste-community in the state, they play a prominent role in political and economic matters.

Despite their considerable stature—both in numbers and in influence—the Liṅgāyatas, like many other Indian groups, have never been fully integrated into an homogeneous society. They have, rather, come to comprise a distinct and easily identifiable sub-cultural community within the pluralistic society of the Southern Deccan. The numerical superiority of Brahmanical Hindus of various stripes is mitigated by innumerable divisions into caste and sub-caste based upon an intractable hierarchism, and the Liṅgāyatas represent a potent political challenge to this group. Though the Liṅgāyatas themselves are subdivided into numerous endogamous groups an enduring egalitarianism

and commonly faced pressures may have formed the base for a genuine class solidarity.

These vīra-, or "heroic", Śaivas are so called because of their ardent devotion towards Lord Śiva. On the basis of strongly felt experience of the Lord's power, the Liṅgāyatas have rejected many of the objective aids to faith commonly accepted by other Hindus. For example, they accord an, at best, equivocal authority to the "revealed scriptures" of the Hindu tradition (śruti) and prefer instead the accessible and more evocative Kannada "sayings" (vacanas) of the early Virasaiva spiritual adepts (the śaraṇas). This Virasaiva antipathy toward the authority of the Sanskrit tradition is reflected in several of the vacanas attributed to Basava, the reputed twelfth-century founder of the movement. One such vacana reads:

If one sign the Gītā, so what?
 If one hears the Śāstras and Purāṇas, so what?
 If one reads the Veda and Vedānta, so what?
 If one feels the highest experience, so what?
 Unless he knows whole-hearted devotion to *liṅga* and *jaṅgama*, so what?
 None but the true devotee is fit.
 For our Lord of the Meeting Rivers.

—Basava

Whenever, the Liṅgāyatas have turned to the Sanskrit tradition for scriptural guidance, they have preferred the sectarian Śaiva Āgamas over the Brahmanical śruti and smṛti literature. Though they have rejected outright many of the practices described therein and have modified others, their theological, cosmological, and metaphysical indebtedness to Āgamic tradition cannot be gain-said. Yet the process of selection and modification has brought the Liṅgāyatas into opposition with other Śiva schools as well as with Brahmanical orthodoxy.

The Liṅgāyatas have also aroused Brahmanical antipathies by their violation of certain norms of social behaviour. They permit, in theory at least, the remarriage of a widow. They do not severely restrict the activities of a woman during her menses or immediately after childbirth, nor do they require a period of ritual purification for the family of a person recently deceased. In fact, in violation of Brahmanical theory, they insist on burying rather than cremating their dead. These situations, which would be dangerously polluting for the Brāhmin, are treated as mundane by Liṅgāyatas.

Likewise, many occupations which would be considered polluting by Brāhmins are fully acceptable to Liṅgāyatas. That this was the case in an earlier era is obvious from the number of śaraṇas who came from castes such as washermen, barbers, and scavengers. That such egalitarianism holds true for the present is less clear since endogamous occupational groups do now exist among the Liṅgāyatas especially in areas where they constitute a large, diverse and secure proportion of the population. A thoroughgoing

hierarchy, however, seems to have been avoided by general inter-caste commensality, at least among males. Certainly the group's literary heritage calls for such commensality as, for example, in the following *vacana* by Basava:

Of one who eats food blessed by you, wherever he be,
What is the caste?
Of one who is fit for your service, O Master,
What is the caste?
Of one who is drawn to your bosom, O God,
What is the caste?
O Lord of the Meeting Rivers.

—Basava

Besides their enmity with Brahmanical Hindus, the Lingāyatas have also experienced strained relations with other followers of Lord Śiva. The group's unique practice of wearing always about the body a small personal emblem of the Lord Śiva (the *īṣṭalīṅga*) provides a badge which readily sets them apart from other Śaivas. That mild distinction is, however, exacerbated by their vocal rejection of forms of worship common to other Śaivas. The Lingāyatas go so far as to reject altogether the Śaiva worship of large, stone emblems (*sthāvaralīṅga*) fixed in permanent temple contexts. Instead, the pouring of libations over a stone *Līṅga* is ridiculed in favour of turning one's very self into a suitable emblem for the Lord:

Soaking a stone for ever so long, can water soften it?
Offering flowers for ever so long, can come to know you?
My mind is but a wandering ghost, unless it's clasp on you.
O Lord of the Meeting Rivers.

—Basava

The group's own emphasis on its utter distinctness from its Brahmin neighbourhood has been especially prominent during period of relative economic and political security. For example, under patronage from the Vijayanagara rulers, the Viśaivas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries produced exuberant, self-confident literature, such as the *Śūnyaśampādana* and the *Prabhu-līṅga-līle*.

The *Śūnyaśampādana*, for example, ends with the twelfth-century founding fathers of the movement dispersed from Kalyāṇa and in disarray, but it views that condition as ephemeral. The inevitable spiritual triumph of the movement is emphasized as all the principals attain union with the absolute, thereby verifying their divine missions. The expectation that the worldly success of the movement will eventually verify this apparently purely spiritual success is reflected in the *Cennabasava Purāṇa*. There, the concluding "prophecy" tells of the dispersal of the

śaraṇas from Kalyāṇa and of their separate fortunes thereafter. It also “predicts” the rise of Vijayanagara and the revitalisation of Viraśaiva tradition from the refugee community established by Cennabasava at Uluve.

In these several ways, the Viraśaivism exhibits its distinctness from “orthodox” Brahmanical Hindu tradition.

Viraśaivism's Relatedness to Brahmanical Orthodoxy

In the several ways mentioned above, Viraśaivism appears rather distinct from the Brāhmanical tradition within Hinduism often however, Viraśaivism, particularly during its later history; can be better understood when it is viewed in terms of its similarities to and close relation with the larger Hindu tradition. During significant portions of its history, Viraśaiva literature has tended towards Sanskrit apologeta. For example, in the fourteenth century, Śīpati Paṇḍita wrote, in Sanskrit, the Śrīkara Bhāṣya in which he derived the principles of Viraśaiva philosophy from the Brahmā Sūtras. Similarly, in the seventeenth century, Nandikeśvara defended the specifically Liṅgāyata practices of worshipping the Liṅga and of burial of the dead on the basis of orthodox śruti and smṛti literature in his Liṅgadhāraṇa Candrikā. In these texts, and in others like them, the Viraśaiva tradition turned from the language and literature of distinctness, the Kannaḍa vacanaśāstra, toward the Sanskrit language and śruti tradition—the language and literature of relatedness and unity in Brāhmanical India.

Another important way in which Viraśaiva theory, if not practice, is closely allied with the Brāhmanical is in the affirmation of *mokṣa* or release from the unpleasantness of worldly existence. While Liṅgāyatas may emphasize methods for reaching *mokṣa* which are absent from Brāhmanical patterns or even directly opposed to Brāhmanical norms, they nonetheless share that goal with Brāhmanical Hindus. In this pursuit of release from *saṃsāra*, as in other matters, Liṅgāyata goals appear not so much as contradictions of Brāhmanical values as they do as intensifications of certain central-elements in the Brāhmanical scheme. Note, for example, Siddharāmeśvara's plaint for extraction from the suffering of worldly rebirth:

I have been trapped in *saṃsāra*, the demon's snout.
Could I tell when he swallowed, when he spat out?
Extract me! Protect me from what awful snout?
O Lord of the Faultless Jasmnines!

—Siddhārāmēśvara

Indeed, many of their practices can be better understood when the behaviour of the Liṅgāyatas is compared to that of those Hindus who are acknowledged as superior by all—the *saṃnyāsins*. Having progressed through the other three stages of life, the *saṃnyāsin* rejects not only the comforts of home when he begins his wandering mendicancy,

but also the usual ritual observances and abstinences which protect him from pollution. The very sanctity of his state as an ascetic renouncer relieves him from the usual ceremonies and protects him from harmful pollution. In this respect, such Liṅgāyata practices as burial of the dead rather than cremation exactly parallel the pattern for Brahmanical Hindu ascetics. Likewise, many of the pollution taboos which Liṅgāyatas ignore are also inapplicable to Brāhmins who have renounced the worldly life. Liṅgāyata practice, then, serves not to undermine Brāhmanical values, but to highlight and emphasize them. It only insists that the pursuit of the highest goal, *mokṣa*, need not await the renunciation of worldly activity at the end of this or a later life but may be undertaken immediately by the sincere devotee.

In this, as in other ways, it is often helpful to view the Liṅgāyatas as merely one more caste, or caste complex, within the larger Brāhmanical fold. One way in which the Liṅgāyatas reflect their Brāhmanical affinities ■ their firm insistence on vegetarianism and on abstinence from alcoholic beverages. In fact, the Abbe Dubois attributes the undeniable animosity between Brāhmins and Liṅgāyatas precisely to the latter's rigorism in these matters and the threat posed thereby to the Brāhmins's hegemony. Whatever the politics of the matter, certainly vegetarianism and abstinence are important values within the Virāśaiva written heritage as asserted by Basava:

From desires of the flesh, one takes meat and wine.
 From desires of the eyes, one cuckolds a friend.
 If one falters on the *liṅga* path,
 What use the *liṅga* he wears so well?
 If one incurs the Jaṅgama's wrath,
 Then surely he plummets to Hell!
 O Lord of the Meeting Rivers.

—Basava

In the matter of occupational acceptability as well, the Liṅgāyatas followed certain Brahmanical patterns. As indicated above, many of the early Virāśaiva saints (*śaraṇas*) had followed impure or immoral occupations. These were not denied entry into the Virāśaiva fold, but they were required to renounce their old, polluting occupations. The Virāśaiva challenge to Brāhmanical standards was, therefore, not to the entire system of occupational purity but to the inevitability of one's lifelong vocation as a result of birth to a certain family. One could renounce a polluted past and become a new, unpolluted person; but, within the company of the *śaraṇas* only specific occupations could continue to be pursued. Basava again reflects his opposition to caste discrimination based on heredity, which is voiced throughout Virāśaiva literature.

The father of Vyāsa was a fisherman;
 Mārķendeya's mother, an outcaste;

And Maṇḍodari was the daughter of a frog.
 O look not to caste! For who could say, anyway
 What he had been born in births past?
 Indeed, Agastya was a Fowler;
 Durvāsa, a mason; Kaśyapa, a blacksmith;
 Kaundinya there, as everyone knows,
 Spent his lives cutting hair.
 'So what if one had been a dog-eating outcaste?
 'The devotee of Śiva is born into a good family.'
 So says our Lord of the Meeting Rivers.

—Basava

It should be noted here, however, that the *śaraṇas* did not condone just any occupation. Of whatever caste and to whatever occupation born, anyone was welcome among the *śaraṇas*; but, in their eyes, he must be "born again" through devotion to Lord Śiva into a new family and a new caste position. The former occupation and its attendant pollution must be set aside. In other words, the *śaraṇas* strove only to remove the unalterability of caste affiliation on the basis of birth; they did not undermine the basic purity gradient upon which caste itself was founded.

The tradition insisted that it was not by birth, but by behaviour, that the saint could be known. Its view of the proper Brāhmin was, similarly, that it is not by birth, but by behaviour, that the true Brāhmin should be known. Hence the characteristics which supposedly identified the true Brāhmin were not reacted but were more broadly sought and more ardently affirmed. The esteem owed to the true Brahmin because of his moral and ritual purity was in no way lessened; its criteria were merely redefined. The basically hierarchical social patterning which provided honor and honorarium to those at the top was modified but not utterly rejected, and the bases upon which that hierarchy rested were altered but not destroyed. Siddhārāmēśvara, for example, specifically describes those of correct knowledge and behaviour as the true Brāhmins.

From merely reading and teaching the Veda,
 Can you become a Brāhmin?
 Making the sacrifice, the six-fold ritual,
 Can you become a Brāhmin?
 True Brāhmin is he who knows the Truth,
 And understands Vedic writ, forsooth.
 Knowing Truth, in it he abides.
 That one is the true Brāhmin, see!
 O Lord of the Faultless Jasmīnes.

—Siddhārāmēśvara

The fact that many sincere Virāśaivas, past and present, have struggled against

the hierarchism of caste should not be overlooked. Neither, however, should it be overlooked that many sincere Virāśaivas have accepted and do accept caste division, of some sort, as a natural and necessary component of their tradition. Perhaps a bit of Kannada folk humor best reflects the uneasy compromise of these two positions.

Purity and bathing are easiest
When the river is in flood?
Caste distinctions are greatest,
When there is plenty of food?

Without debating the details of the above accounts, it should be relatively clear that, within Virāśaiva tradition itself, there has not been unanimity about the ideal relation of the movement to the broader context within which it originated and developed—namely that of Brāhmanical Hinduism. Rather, there have been competing ideals of what that relation should be and ardent attempts to effect one or the other of those ideals.

Attempts to Understand the Virāśaivas as A “Hindu” “Sect”

What is of interest to the present investigation is not, of course, whether Liṅgāyatas have castes or are teetotalers but what these characteristics indicate about the relation between Virāśaivism and the “great tradition” of Sanskrit Brāhmanical Hinduism. From the above comments it is clear that they may be viewed and have been viewed from two perspectives on this question.

Some have seen them as a group wholly independent of and vehemently opposed to the Brāhmanical Hindu tradition. Others have seen them as welcome rivals to Brāhmin leadership in the effort to spread shared cultural and religious values throughout India's diverse geographical regions and distinct social strata. In any case, it becomes obvious that the rivalry between Liṅgāyatas and Brahmanical Hindus proceeds along dimensions of behaviour and social structure which are shared by both groups rather than along entirely divergent lines. In this respect, it may be inaccurate to draw too bold a dividing line between the two traditions. Rather than standing in intractable antipathy to Brahmanical Hinduism, the Liṅgāyatas may constitute a powerful and cohesive agency for spreading basic Brāhmanical values.

The problem of these two interpretations of Virāśaivism has often been directly addressed under the question, “Are Liṅgāyatas Hindus?” From the above discussion it is clear that the answer to that question has been far from unanimous. Many have viewed them as Hindus, or, more accurately, as Brahmanical Hindus, while others have described them as an entirely separate religious tradition. Without querying the utility of the question itself, many have attempted to provide an either-or answer.

It may be the case that the question itself is misdirected. More important than determining whether some particular label is appropriate to the group or not may be a determination of the nature of Virāśaivism's relation to other religious movements within

Indian society. In other words, the question becomes not whether the Liṅgāyatas are Hindus but "What is the relation of Liṅgāyata Indians to other Indians?"

This view is buttressed by a realisation that the very word "Hinduism" is of recent and external origin. Traditionally, "Hindu" has meant not a member of any particular religious tradition but rather a resident of India. Thus one could once without contradiction, refer to Hindu Muslims—meaning Indian Muslims. In this sense, it is obvious that Liṅgāyatas are indeed Hindus—that is, Indians. Then little profits it to pose either-or questions. More useful is a determination of the place of Viraśaivism within Indian society and Indian religious tradition. Focus falls then on the relation between Liṅgāyatas and other groups within the broad fold of Indian religious tradition.

One terminology which has been used to describe the relation of Viraśaivism to the rest of Indian religious tradition has hinged upon the term "sect". In light of the group's distinctive practices and their concomitant differentiation from the community of Brāhmanical Hindus at large, the use of this term is not surprising. Unfortunately, in describing the Liṅgāyatas as well as other Indian groups, the term has often been used in an entirely uncritical manner. Quite frequently it has provided nothing more than a general description of "a group of people who share a common set of religious beliefs".

Examples of this uncritical usage begin, at least, with Bhandarkar who initiates his discussion of the Liṅgāyatas by attributing the "foundation of this sect . . . to Basava." Similarly unreflective, Basham defines the Liṅgāyatas merely as a "Śaivite sect". Even McCormack, in his enlightening article on the use of the term "sect" as applied to the Liṅgāyatas, proceeds no further than the second sentence before lapsing into an uncritical description of the group as "a large sect, which are to be found today residing in the towns and villages of the Kannaḍa-speaking region of south India".

Other scholars have attempted to a more careful definition of the term with special reference to the Indian context. Most noteworthy among these is Renou who prefaces his definition of the Indian sect with an insistence that there is little profit in attempting a radical distinction between "sectarians" and "Hindus". Rather, he insists, "the most active sects were themselves only isolated groups within the great body of believers".

Having provided that caveat, Renou proceeds to construct a formal description of the Indian sect-type organisation. He points to four essential characteristics: (1) adherence to a particular sacred writing and devotion to a particular deity, (2) adoption of a particular philosophical or doctrinal position which unavoidably involves some element of devotion to a personal Lord (bhakti), (3) recognition of an identifiable, individual founder and commitment to his teachings, and (4) an inherent reformist impetus which often actualises itself in cultic purification, iconoclasm, anti-sacrificialism, broadened popular appeal, exotericization, egalitarian organisation, and emphasis on the vernacular as a teaching medium.

Dumont has added two valuable amendments to Renou's formal definition. First, he has observed that (5) it is the personality of the individual founder and of his successors which provides the ineluctable element of enunciation to the Indian sect-type organisation. In fact, he defines the sect in term of a group of religious virtuosi who have

renounced the world and around whom a lay following forms a non-essential periphery. Secondly, Dumont has pointed to (6) the crucial role which the ecstatic spirit-medium of Indian village worship plays in introducing the emotional bhakti element into popularised sect-type religiosity.

The aptitude of this formal definition for describing Virāśaivism is transparent. Early Virāśaivism (1) rejected the śruti tradition and relied upon the vernacular Kannada vacana, (2) subsumed its philosophizing under an intense devotion to Lord Śiva, (3) revered the memory and teachings of Basava, (4) rejected the ritual, iconography, and priestly authority of the Brāhmins, (5) called for frugality, renunciation, and self-sacrifice from its members, and (6) adopted the ecstatic spiritism of such characters as Maruṣaṅkṛadēva and Mahādēviyakka.

It should be emphasized that both Renou and Dumont undertake their reflections on the nature of the Indian sect with their attention firmly focussed on the Indian data. It is most interesting, however, that the formal characteristics which they point out divide into two categories which have been found in the sect-type organisation elsewhere. The first, second, third, and fifth characteristics they isolate—namely, (1) a particular scripture, (2) a personal deity, (3) an identifiable founder, and (4) a voluntary renunciation—reflect the general pattern of particularism which characterises sectarian ecclesiology. The fourth and sixth characteristics—namely, (5) cultic purification and simplification and (6) an ecstatic and spiritual emotionalism—reflect common traits of subjectivism characteristic of sectarian soteriology worldwide.

The two major difficulties with this analysis of the Virāśaivas' sectarian characteristics are that, by ignoring general structural characteristics of religious associations, it remains too Indo-specific and that it treats the matter in an absolutist fashion rather than asking, more wisely, "to what extent" the Virāśaivas exhibit sectarian and non-sectarian (i.e. church-type) characteristics. Indeed, as the foregoing indicates, the Virāśaivas have a complex and multiform organisation which is by no means perfectly sectarian in nature. Some of the problems presented by these previous attempts to understand the Liṅgāyatas' relation to Brāhmanical Hindus may be solved or circumvented by an analysis of the group utilising a more general understanding of religious associations based upon their relative sect-type characteristics, as opposed to their relatively more "church"-like attributes.

Attempts to Understand the Virāśaivas as "Protestants"

Unfortunately much Western scholarship has failed to acknowledge these multiple dimensions of the Virāśaiva movement—its distinctness and relatedness, its universalism and particularism, and its subjectivism and objectivism. Western attention has, rather, focussed on the ways in which Virāśaivism, like Protestant Christianity, zealously stood over and against its social and religious context as a distinct, particularist and subjectivist reformatory movement. In fact, a persistently implicit and occasionally explicit evaluative comparison of Virāśaivism to the norm of Protestant Christianity has permeated the literature.

Part of the blame for this partialism can be attributed, probably to his own chagrin, to the great sociologist of religion Max Weber. In his *Religion of India*, Weber offered a few brief but tantalising observations on the Liṅgāyatas. First, he noted those characteristics of the group which distinguished it from the rest of Indian society. He explored those characteristics of its institutional associational patterns which made it as a separate, identifiable "sect". Nothing characteristics common, throughout the world, to the sectarian type of religious association, he observed that the Liṅgāyatas "... represented a type of particularly sharp and principled 'protestant' reaction to the Brāhmins and the caste order."

Next, Weber described those characteristics which linked the group to the more general patterns of Indian social structure. He noted the hierarchism and caste differentiation common to Liṅgāyata and Brahmin alike and explored these characteristics of its institutional patterns which make it as a "church" or "ecclesia", inseparable from the social context at large. Sensing characteristics common, throughout the world, to the church type of religious association, he observed, "Forsometime, the Liṅgāyat sect has undergone a characteristic process of status differentiation suggestive of the gentility claimed by the descendents of the Mayflower Pilgrims in New England."

Thus, in his succinct manner, Weber indicated the two seemingly contradictory ideals of institutional association for which Viraśaivas have often striven and by which students of Viraśaiva ways have often been blinded and confused. And, as he often been the case with his observations, these words of Weber set the stage and suggested the script for most subsequent discussions of Viraśaivism. Much of the sociological and anthropological discourse on the group has attempted to answer the questions which arise from these two opposed descriptions of the nature of Viraśaivism. Is Viraśaivism best characterised as a largely egalitarian "sect" consisting of a "principled 'protest...'" against the Indian social hierarchy, or does the movement's advanced "status differentiation" suggest some category other than "sect" to describe them? Are the Liṅgāyatas a sect within Hinduism, or do they constitute a group with pervasiveness and autonomy sufficient to warrant an appellation such as "church"?

Another set of questions is inherent in Weber's two cited statements. His insertion of the word "protestant" and his reference to the Pilgrims may or may not, within themselves, be "value-free" usages; but, following his lead, several other authors have found it profitable to discuss the Liṅgāyatas with reference to Protestant Christianity in general and the Calvinist Puritans in particular. Quite lyrically has R.E. Enthoven described them as "... a peaceable race of Hindu puritans." Less carefully, has Will Durant allowed the upper case to betray and implicit comparison when he described the Liṅgāyatas as "... the most Puritanic sect in India." H.M. Sadāśivaiah's spelling was less precise than his intention when he noted, "In both Viraśaivism and Protestantism (sic) we find the spirit of 'wordly asceticism'..." Though less explicit, similarly inclined was S.C. Nandimath who spoke of the Viraśaiva's spiritual endeavours as "... the pilgrim's progress towards realisation."

Observing the canons of "value-free" science, it is certainly legitimate for the social

scientist to make conscious comparisons between the institutional patterns of two religious traditions. Unfortunately, among many scholars subsequent to Weber and perhaps, to some extent, for Weber himself these comparisons between the institutional arrangements of the *Lingāyatas* and those of the Puritans became more evaluative than strictly descriptive and analytical. The propensity of European scholars to see Protestant Christian patterns as normative and to evaluate Oriental patterns against that norm has been matched only by the similar tendency among colonially trained apologists for the Oriental traditions themselves.

Certainly this evaluative tendency has characterised much of the investigation of *Vīraśaivism*. Studies conducted by Europeans have, by and large, expressed a fascination for this movement which in so many ways came so close to the patterns of "true" religion only to founder on the shoals of Brāhmanical tradition. *Vīraśaiva* apologists have often noted the same similarities and have defended deviations from the preferred European pattern as legitimate and minor variations. Thus, the effort to understand the *Vīraśaivas* has often become rather an effort to establish the relative worth of the group in terms of its adherence to the criteria of the religion of conquest in the past several centuries—Protestant Christianity.

Since the doctrinal and mythological complexes of the two traditions are seemingly worlds apart, the comparative and apologetic effort has often focussed on similarities in religious practice—ethical, ritual, and institutional. Thus studies of membership patterns have emphasized the essential equality of all members. Likewise, much has been written about the simplification of existing ritual worship effected by the two traditions and the direct and individualised route to salvation which arose from those ritual reforms.

On the other hand, the ways in which *Vīraśaiva* religious patterns fell short not only of actual Protestant forms but also for the idealised Protestant norm have been prominently noted. The gradual shift from voluntary membership to automatic ascription of those born to *Vīraśaiva* parents has been explored. The concomitant shift from an egalitarian community to an hierarchical society has been often investigated and sometimes lamented. The rise of an hierarchy of believers on the ladder to salvation and the assignment of salvific functions to certain specialists has also been noted, especially as these accompany the rise of a more elaborate system of ritual worship.

What both these approaches have in common, of course, is that they assign a normative, evaluative role to the associational characteristics and institutional patterns of Protestant Christianity. In fact, it is often not so much Protestant Christianity as practised by its adherents as that movement idealized by its own theorists, as well as by social scientists, to which *Vīraśaiva* practices have been compared. Whether by a sympathetic student who assiduously seeks points of comparison which will cast *Vīraśaivism* in a favourable light, or by an unsympathetic scholar who equally strives to cast aspersions on *Vīraśaivism* and to offer Christianity as a more attractive alternative—by one having either of these motives, a comparison which attempts alternative—by one having either of these motives, a comparison which attempts to see *Vīraśaivism* against

the norm of the Protestant Christianity is doomed to failure in any effort at truly understanding what Virāśaivism means to the persons who know the most about that movement—namely, Virāśaiva individuals.

Typological Analysis of Virāśaiva Associational Patterns

Admittedly much of the pioneering work in the general understanding of religious institutions was undertaken by Protestant scholars and often involved a study of Christian institutions, and the interpretative scheme which most strongly informs the present study is one which emerged from just such an historical study of Christian institutions. The sect-type, church-type, and mystic-type of religious association which Ernst Troeltsch adduced¹ in his famous study of Christianity prove quite useful in categorising the various Virāśaiva institutional patterns.

In Troeltsch's view, a crucial dimension which underlay his typology was precisely the relative objectivity/subjectivity of the means of salvation. Whether the attainment of human salvation lay within the hands of objective human institutions, such as the priesthood and the sacraments, or whether such salvation was a private and individual matter for the subjective human being became a crucial typological distinction for Troeltsch. Others have suggested that a second essential dimension of this typology is the relative universality/particularity of a group's membership and recruitment. Whether a group freely includes all who come within its geographical or social sphere or excludes all but those few who 'meet its rigorous membership standards is a critical question in determining its associational type. In other words, the relative objectivity/subjectivity of Virāśaivism's means of salvation and the relative universality/particularity of its membership patterns, can become informative but non-evaluative dimensions for analysis of the group's relation to its Brāhmanical context.

For analyzing the Virāśaivas' religious hierarchy, sacramental system, and membership patterns, a wealth of data is presented in a fifteenth-century Kannaḍa text, the *Śūnyasampādane*, wherein all the types of religious association suggested by Troeltsch are exhibited. The contents of that text provide both explicit and implicit evidence for understanding Virāśaiva associational patterns as evidenced in the priestly hierarchy, the ritual system, and membership criteria. The competing ideals espoused within the text make it obvious that simplistic attempts to determine which type of religious association does or should characterise Virāśaivism are misguided. In the text, each of the three principal characters consistently argue for any attempt to effect a different ideal pattern of Virāśaiva organisation. Simplicity of ritual practice, individual and subjective means to salvation and relatively egalitarian membership and organisational patterns are defended by Basava. Elaborate and sophisticated rituals, the objective availability of soteriological devices, and a primarily hierarchical organization of membership are promoted by Cennabasava. Allama Prabhu, on the other hand, exhibits a clear disdain for organised, communal rituals, a radical subjectivity with respect to attainment of mystic goals, and a fundamental anarchism in organisational matters.

In the *Śūnyasampādane*, as in the entire history of the movement, no single institutional ideal predominates. From a careful study of the text, three emerge ample

bases for arguing that several diverse types of religious association—sect, church, mystic, universalist, particularist, objectivist, subjectivist—all are legitimate institutional actualisations of Virāśaivism's spiritual genius. Careful study of the *Śūnyasāmpādane*, perforce, moves the analysis of the Virāśaiva data beyond crude comparisons with Protestant Christianity toward a better understanding of Virāśaiva institutional practices themselves and toward a more adequate understanding of religious institutional patterns in general.

Just as Troeltsch found all three associational types to be legitimate applications of the Gospel message to social conditions, so too do several patterns emerge as valuable ideals for Virāśaiva practice. There arises no need to emphasise one aspect of Virāśaiva religious association and to denigrate others simply along norms derived from an external source. A method which has borne fruit in the investigation of Christianity can be extended, again fruitfully, into the analysis of Virāśaivism. Specifically, the tension with Virāśaivism between unmediated direct spiritual experience and the use of certain aids to faith (the *aṣṭāvaraṇa*) administered solely by a class of religious specialists (the guru and the *jaṅgama*) provides primary data for coming to understand why certain Virāśaivas have idealized the subjectivism and particularism of the sect-type organization while others have idealised the objectivism and universalism of the church-type.

The two dimensions of analysis chosen here—F(1) objectivism/subjectivism as reflected in the nature of clerical hierarchy and patterns of ritual worships and (2) universalism/particularism as reflected in criteria for membership in the group—have been often abused elsewhere. When evaluatively compared with a "normative" Protestant Christianity, other religious traditions have fared better if their religious hierarchy was not elaborate, their ritual system lacked complexity, and their membership criteria were voluntaristically rigid. With respect to Virāśaivism, this factor has been obvious at least since Weber's somewhat piqued observation that "All in all, the rationalistic course which expressed itself in the purism of the sect was not able to shatter the massive hagiolatry and traditionalism of its predominantly peasant adherence."

It is, however, possible to avoid both the overtly comparative style and the inherently evaluative nature of many previous studies. A set of concerns which grows out of one religious tradition, whether these be part of the spiritual or only of the intellectual background of an investigator, may be instructive for understanding issues and tensions within another religious tradition; and no comparative evaluation need be implied. It is possible and profitable to discern specific patterns within Virāśaiva institutional organization which are common to religious movements around the world. That certain of these patterns have Protestant parallels while others are antithetical to Protestant theory is quite interesting, indeed informative, but that fact is itself neither laudable nor lamentable.

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Vaitāl Temple

Vaitāl temple was erected rather later than Paraśurāmeśvara. But the Vaitāl duel is very different in conception, and derives from another and entirely different tradition. As K.C. Panigrahi puts 775 A.D. as the date of the Vaitāl temple. But Percy Brown describes that this temple belongs to a period in between A.D. 750 to 900 A.D. M.M. Ganguly suggests that the shape of the Vaitāl has been derived from the *rathas* of Mahābhaḥpuram. The finials on the roof of the Vaitāl temple, are not like of the *rathas* rather consists of *amalakas*, *Kalāsas* and *Āyudhas* (*Trisūlas*) which are the crowning members of all the temples of Bhubaneśwar. However, as Percy Brown has described in the ultimate analysis the ancestors of the *rathas gopurams* and the Vaitāl temple are found to be in the Chaitya halls of Buddhists. M.M. Ganguli attempts to derive the name Vaitāl from Vahitra (a sea-going vessel) in comparison of *mastaka* with the hull of a ship. The true origin of the name is to be traced to the type of cult that was practised in this temple.

Actually the Vaitāl temple was a place of worship of the *Kāpālīka* who used the invoke the aid of the Vaitālas (Spirits) for their *Siddhis* and from the word *Vetāls*, the name of the temple Vaitāl has been derived. Although the roof of the Vaitāl is of different style, the lower stages of the superstructure follow almost the same architectural disposition and decoration as Paraśurāmeśvara. Heavy moulding with scrolls peculiar to the Sculptures of this group, are to be found at the lower basement. The *Jagamohana* a low rectangular structure with four miniature Śikhara temples embaded at its four corners, is an innovation in this particular temple which is otherwise a close prototype of the porch of the Śiśireśvara. It has no windows, grills or pillars inside and its roof has been built on the cantilever principles. Both the inner and outer faces of the walls of the porch are plain. According to K.C. Panigrahi this temple belong to 775 A.D. But Percy Brown has given in the date in between 750-950 A.D.

The sculpture of the Vaitāl temple represent a line of artistic tradition which is different from that of other Śaiva temples. The superstructure contains several cult images of great iconographic importance. In the south, a Chaitya arch with a *Kirttimukha* at the top encloses a medallion containing an image of *lākuli* with his four disciples. It has similarity with the *Lākili* images of Paraśurāmeśvara temple. But the only peculiarity to be found in its is that the occurs the image of Śiva and Pārvati seated side by side. On the

northern side the images of Harihaa and Durgā are to be found in similar positions. On the front facade of the temple there is a well preserved ten-armed Naṭarāja. Of the ten hands four holds in each a *japamālā*, a *triśula*, a *snake* and a *Kharpara*. The *Jagamohana* is wholly undecorated by the inner walls of the cells, contain some of the most remarkable images which, however, have been concealed in darkness.

Among these images a group of Sapta mātṛikas headed by Vīrśvara are on the eastern wall of the temple alongwith Chāmūṇḍā which is the presiding deity of the shrine. Some other images appeared on the body of Jagamohana are Nārāyaṇī, Varaha and Gaṇeśa etc.

34

The Virasaiva Woman

In all primitive races woman was the first domestic animal of man, according to Hunt (1970). Such a statement refers not to the life of a woman in a family, but to her politico-economic life in a community. This statement refers to the economic exploitation of woman by the male. The woman's liberation movement is asking for basic economic independence rather than equal familiar or other status for the women.

Promilla Kapur through her extensive studies on working women in her books, *Working Woman and Marital Adjustment* (1974), and *Changing Status of Indian Women* (1976), has pointed out that employment outside the home is not responsible for marital maladjustment of women nor employment and mere economic independence necessarily help in raising their status.

Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein (1956) have pointed out that before the industrial revolution, women had at all times played a very active part in the economic life of society, as they do in agricultural communities to this day. Their two roles, raising a family and doing economically productive work, were fused into one way of life. Further, they state that the problem of 'women and work', and of women's role in society generally has completely changed its complexion during the last few decades. It is no longer a question of what women are physically and mentally capable of doing? For, experience has settled the long controversy about feminine abilities and has proved that women are fit for a much wider range of activities than merely those compatible with the commonly accepted idea of the 'weaker sex'.

Against the background of these statements, let us make our stand point clear about the economic and political life of a Virasaiva woman. We are not going to study the politico-economic life as an independent indicator of her status as is done by Promilla Kapur. But I consider it as a mere extension of the Virasaiva woman's life, as shown in the earlier chapters on child-rearing, marriage and family life. Similarly, it is not mere economic independence that is a basic issue with us. The fundamental question is whether the general division of labour related to or contributed by her sexual capabilities sociologically justifiable? That is, is woman able to contribute fully to the family and community life and at the same time enjoy her basic and social needs of economic security, and fulfilment of her prestige or status at home and outside?

No doubt, we ought to be aware of the woman's secondary economic role throughout primitive societies and the total denial of it to women under *Burkha* (veil) and to women who could move only within the four walls of the home. Similarly, the medieval woman's life is described as that of a soft protected flower, and the more recent economic exploitation of woman under slavery and heavy house of work and low wages under the early period of industrialisation is wellknown.

In the background of such a bleak picture of women's economic life in the world, we propose to point to a few rays of hope through the politico-economic life of a Virāśaiva woman.

In its revolutionary phase, Virāśaivism considered all occupations of equal dignity and worth. Thus, 12th century Virāśaiva women enjoyed a high spiritual and social status by being mere house-wives or doing lowly jobs as leather workers, scavenges and even prostitutes. This points to the lack of ideological obstacles to women undertaking a variety of occupations.

In the chapter on family, we have observed that there does not exist a rigid division of labour in Virāśaivism that a woman should be a mere housewife, or a man a mere bread-winner. This lack of rigid division of labour at home permits a woman to undertake any kind of occupation according to her family's requirements and individual capacity.

Indian agriculture and other crafts, like carpentry, weaving and tailoring, continue to be family occupations, where the help of all members of the family, also of the women and children, is inevitable. 48% of my sample families have agriculture as the main family occupation. From these families the first generation respondents, along with their grown-up daughters and daughter-in-laws (with no infants), regularly work on their farms engaging in activities like sowing, weeding, harvesting, or supervising other female labour. One first generation respondent boldly state that she is the main worker on their farm, for her husband does no work with any sense of responsibility. So, except ploughing, she undertakes all the farming tasks, including the marketing of the produce. Though these women undertake the double role of being a house-wife and mother as well as productive worker on the farm, they do not enjoy independent income proportional to their labour. In majority of cases it is the male members, like the husband or the grown-up sons, who make the harvested grain and keep all the major part of the income themselves. But these men are also responsible for the family's major purchases, like food, clothing and other major items, while the women are given some 'pocket money' to buy women's clothing, vegetables and sundries.

Many women said that they take vegetables or minor articles to the market to sell and keep the money from these sales with themselves. Only one woman, who is married to her maternal uncle, said that her husband does not do any farming work, but only markets the produce and keeps all the income with him. In their family women are not allowed to go to the market at all. I would consider such cases as exploitative of female labour while with the rest of women, their farming role, however heavy, is an extension of their household tasks. The man of the house always leaves for the farm at 7 a.m., while a woman joins him by 1-a.m.; that means a woman completes her cooking and only then joins her man on the farm.

By biological or natural division of labour, woman is fully responsible for the bearing, and rearing of children and for running the household. She has to be more easily available to the household than the man. Possibly, with the arrival of daughter-in-law or grown up daughters, her household chores are minimised, but not her responsibilities. Thus, we have to accept that natural division of labour and woman's indispensable place at home, and observe that, according to her time and energy, she is not denied movements outside the home including work, whenever, she decides to take it up. However high-paid an occupation a woman takes up, when anyone in the family is ill or has delivered, her presence and attention is inevitable. In this sense, as I said earlier, the woman's economic role has to be, not an independent indicator of her status, but an extension of her family life. The family is the centre of her interests, attention and care. That does not always require her being physically tied to the household all the time.

In the industrialised modern world, when household tasks are minimised by machines, woman's role outside the home are a necessity. That even without such help, Virasavla women, even of the priestly caste, are always working at home and outside is creditable and noteworthy. None of the 48% of the first generation women have felt exploited, but feel very proud, independent and important members of their family. These 48% are not drawn out for 'outside work' by poverty (as Hob-house might put it), but the Indian agricultural setup and lack of Virasavla restrictions on their outside work are responsible for their work outside the home.

It is such a sense of independence that gives women courage to take independent decisions (at the time of differences with male members), for instance, to arrange the marriage of her widowed daughter. If 48% of my first generation respondents have family farming, 10% of them are farm labourers. These undertake such labour either to supplement their family income or to wholly maintain it. These women find farm labour a more independent and dignified occupation than menial labour at home. No doubt, these women are paid less than male labour, but they go to work at 10 a.m. while male labour has to report by 7 a.m. Male workers do heavy manual work, while female labour is employed to do weeding and plucking groundnuts, cotton, etc. In addition to this, female workers carry firewood or grass from the farm and other available farm produce. So, their low wages are never considered by them as a form of discrimination.

A third category, 9% of the first generation respondents, were grain and jaggery sellers. They mainly bought it wholesale and sold it into the retail market. These women leave their houses by 8.30 a.m. and return only by 7 p.m. These women are involved in economic activity equal to any male worker. They do not have the encumbrance of small children but bear general household responsibility. They stay at home only on major festival days and on special family occasions. They looked very shrewd, hold and hardworking, with no feminine inhibitions. These women are seen to share their business activities with their married daughter or grown-up sons.

A fourth category of productive workers, 18%, are 'Tur dal' producers. They buy Tur grain at a wholesale shop and make tur dal at home. This look like a smallscale

cottage industry. Most of these women work with grown-up daughters or sisters. These women are such incessant workers that one feels that there is no element of boredom. This work has become an integral part of their life. One asthmatic woman in her sixties is said to have been working on this job for the last 20 years. Now her work is not a necessity, however, she says she just cannot give it up. Whenever, she is not able to do it herself, she employs neighbouring female labour to sift the *dal*, and takes other help to carry produce to the market.

Another interesting instance is of a mother and her married daughter who are reputed for producing as much as 2/3 quintals of *Tur dal* daily. The mother gave birth to fourteen children, eight of whom are living, and looks as strong as a horse. In addition to looking after the household, she produces *Tur dal* and has also kept four buffaloes, she sells milk and also help in the family farming. Her married daughter of 25, with her six children, is more than a match for her mother. This daughter stays with her mother, along with her husband and children. Her mother-in-law, who stays next door, also helps them occasionally. These women gave me interviews, grudgingly, while doing their work; to them nothing seemed as important as their work. They take a break only on a festival days. As a matter of fact, they do not seem to feel the need of rest or holidays. Chewing *pan* (betel leaf), and working incessantly with a smile and a feeling of independence indicated that this work was a notable aspect of their life.

Another example was of two sisters, one had two children and had left her husband's house because of some quarrel, while the other ■ her unmarried sister of 25. Their work is make *Tur dal* in a similar fashion. Both are so busy and independent that the former does not seem to miss her husband, and the other does not seem to be in a hurry to marry.

A fifth category of workers have kept buffaloes to sell milk alongwith their farming or as an independent occupation. Many run their small families, wholly on this work, while others take it up to supplement the family income. Two respondents of a completely urban area are specially note-worthy. One of them a mother of ten (all living) children is maintaining twenty buffaloes and imparting college education to both male and female children. Another of the middle-class family women, with high school education, is keeping 10-15 buffaloes to help build up family property like a house, and provide for higher education for her male and female children alike. The zest for work in these women, where a majority are amere house-wives, is noteworthy. A third woman runs a boarding house for ladies, and a fourth is a full-time office worker.

The remaining 25% of the first generation respondents, from a purely urban locality, are housewives. Of these 5% referred to in the earlier chapters, are miserable and economically dependent souls. Their suspicious and jealous husbands do not allow them any freedom to move outside the house. And one of them, who expects all shopping to be done by his wife checks the amounts to the last penny. This wife said that her husband treats her like his 'Gumastha', an accountant. While another of these 5% is a wife of a headman (*Patil*), who said that not only she but even her 80 years old mother-in-law, was never consulted in the matter of purchases, or enjoyed any economic independence. Their

job is merely to cook and bear children. The older lady was feeling quite scared even to speak with me, an outside. But the daughter-in-law looked bolder and more independent. These 5% respondents have maladjusted husbands and do not fit in the general pattern.

The rest of the 20% of the first generation, who are mere house-wives, said that their husbands give almost the whole of their salary to them and, in addition to being a mother, and house-wives, they buy all the family provisions; while for major property dealing or marriages, etc., there is mutual consultation between their husbands and themselves.

Thus, the economic condition of Virāṣaiva women can be described as not repressive or exploitative but one which utilises all her capacities and which helps her to improve her status in the family. We do not have a similar sample of agricultural workers from non-Virāṣaivas for comparison and to accurately measure the impact of Virāṣaivism. Yet with the limited information at hand we may make a relative statement that the above mentioned economic life of Virāṣaiva women is partly because of the religious freedom and partly due to the occupational setup of their community.

Of the second generation, 27% have taken up higher education. Except one respondent, who wishes to devote all her energies to her career, the rest propose to combine professional careers with marriage and household responsibilities.

The other 20% help their mothers or in-laws in their farming or *tur dal* producing work. 30% of the married are busy rearing small children, who require constant care and attention. Even these as well as the other wish to work outside the home tailoring, typing or whatever other work is possible. The remaining do not have definite plans for a career outside the home. For them "a smooth family life" is more important than anything else.

Only 30% of the second generation respondents wished for economic independence. The rest were happy to receive their money from their parents, husbands or in-laws. This situation could be explained in the following manner. A majority of them, being adolescents with little children, do not go out shopping alone. Their needs are being comfortably fulfilled by their elders. So they do not feel the need of economic independence. There may not be a situation of exploitation, because a majority who expressed the desire to give higher education to their children did not feel their economic dependence as a handicap. Hence, we can conclude that the greater economic dependence of the second generation is due to their adolescent stage, being too young to handle money matters.

In addition to food and shelter, women are said to require economic independence to satisfy their liking for gold ornaments, luxurious clothes and a generally comfortable life. Among my respondents none wished for a luxurious life beyond their means. The first generation respondents admitted that they were fond of jewellery. But they added that it had now become so costly that it was beyond their reach. So, none of them felt a real craze or pining for it any more. As for the second generation, even fondness for gold is on the verge of disappearance. Instead, almost all of them showed a definite liking for a variety of attractive clothes. They said that they get this desire fulfilled when they can select their own clothes; no unhappiness or frustration was expressed by them.

Similar to the flexible division of labour is the case with inheritances of property among Virāṣaivas. Generally, Virāṣaiva property is distributed to the male children, on the patriarchal basis. But if there are no male children, instead of adopting a male child, Virāṣaivas give away their property, be it a house, land or gold, to their daughters. Though adoption is not ruled out in theory, it is rarely practised. Thus, in my study, 12% of the first generation respondents had inherited parental property; both land and house. This property, which a daughter inherits from the parents, customarily is passed on only to the daughters. Thus, one of my respondents said that her mother had given her landed property (which she had inherited from her parents) while alive to her, even though her brother did not or could not inherit any property from his father. Thus, it seems that the principle of patriarchal descent is not taken very seriously by Virāṣaivas.

In addition to this regular inheritance of property, Virāṣaiva girls set *Stridhana*—gold, pots and pans—at the time of their marriage. There is a convention that at the least earrings and a water-pot must be given to the bride. In addition a married girl is given gold, costly clothes etc., by her dying mother. Thus, every dying mother prefers to give away such articles to her married daughters rather than leave them for her sons or daughters-in-law. One respondent of the first generation said that she had received thirty *tolas* of gold from the dying mother and she wished to give it to her daughters when they marry. Another respondent said that her mother wished to give her gold and cash, but according to her this was not a wise decision as her mother should arrange for her old age, otherwise nobody would bother about her.

Many Virāṣaiva women feel that daughters have a greater affection for them than sons. And they always say that, in their old age and in illness they will receive more care and attention from their daughters. This is typically expressed in the following manner. If one has daughters, there will be somebody to cry by the dead body, otherwise, one remains a 'Bewarasi', i.e., with no descent at all. So many women look forward to the birth of a female child. Thus, through such deep sentimental attachment Virāṣaiva girls get *Stridhana* at the time of the marriage, regular yearly presents of sarees, and their mother's property at her death and regular (i.e. parental) property in the absence of brothers.

Four second generation parents had no male issue. Yet they did not response to adopt a boy, but intended to transfer their property to their daughters. In these cases, where the mothers are widows with only one daughter, the daughter and son-in-law are either staying with girl's mother or are regular visitors. Thus, the custom of 'Aleyatan' i.e., of the son-in-law staying with his wife's parents in the absence of a male issue is prevalent among Virāṣaivas. Many Virāṣaiva widows prefer to seek occasional help and advice from their brothers rather than stay with them under their protection.

Further, it is interesting to note what Virāṣaiva women do for providing for their old age. Husbands in service retire and get pension and provident fund as provision for their old-age. As for the rest, a few became depressed and responded that it was not possible for them to pull along because their grown-up sons had separated from them. But others said that they may not carry the whole responsibility of the family once daughters-in-law are ready to take it, at the same time they do not like to 'retire' completely. They

wished to do whatever they could as long as they were able to work. As for medical care and personal comfort, some 10% are quite indifferent to both personal care like regular hair baths and medical treatment in illness. The majority of agricultural and other workers said that regular hair baths are as necessary as regular food and they resort to medical care when ill.

As for independent economic provision for old age the picture is not very bright. Some 20% said that in these costly days to maintain large families has become very difficult. Under such conditions, they could not even think of provision for their old age. They added that their sons were there; why should they worry? While another 20% said "What else remains in our lives except a decent funeral? While the remaining 60% said that it is necessary to save or keep something aside for their old age."

One respondent said that she kept an account in the bank for her husband's pension. While another lady said: "If you have some money, someone will care for you in your old age."

As for the modern inheritance laws (providing an equal share for daughters), every respondent said they knew about them. But a majority said that their parents did not have much property, so they were not interested in inheritance. For them their brother's affection and regular visits to their parental homes were more important than inheritance of parental property. Many others said that they had already received their due share; while another lady confided that she has resorted to a court of law to get her due share.

If some of the first generation respondents were indifferent to their share of the parental property, almost all of the second generation said that they would claim their inheritance rights. But they were not quite sure as to how they proposed to claim this right. This shows their lack of attention to this problem. All the same they have certainly become more aware of the need for economic independence.

In connection with women's economic planning and management, I queried their attitude towards neighbour's borrowing. None of them approved of frequent borrowing, but everybody approved of occasional borrowing, and said that neighbours 'exit' for such occasional help.

Further, it is worthwhile to know about women's attitudes and actions towards beggary. The traditional Hindu attitude of giving alms to beggars as well as to religious mendicants, was to get special religious merit. In theory, Virāṣaivism did not approve of religious merit. In theory, Virāṣaivism did not approve of religious begging, but the practice of religious begging has crept in. As for the reaction of my respondents, 70% of the first generation said that they approve of all kinds of begging and they give whatever they can afford, but 30% of the first generation said that they gave alms only to invalids and religious mendicants. Only 20% of the second generation approved of alms to all types of beggars; while 80% said that they proposed to give alms only to invalids. Thus, we find increasing awareness in the second generation of the evil of beggary in our society.

Hence one can conclude that social reforms of 12th century Virsaivism with regard to economic life continue to have a good hold even today

As for the political life of Virāśaiva women, to get any information from my respondents was quite a difficult task owing to the 'doubt' work-load of the majority of the women; their political interests did not go beyond their neighbourhood community life.

Of course, such thing as patriotism and political awareness at the national level was not of much interest to them. Except five-yearly voting in a group, according to the group opinion, nothing much of the political developments in the country was of any interest to them.

A majority of them were born and brought up and had lived almost their entire life in their neighbourhood. This shows their general lack of mobility in politico-economic life. The neighbourhood was the 'real' community for them. So I asked whether in old age at least they do 'Hiretana' i.e., participate in solving community quarrels, arranging and mediating in marriages and helping the sick and orphans of their community.

30% of the first generation said that they are too busy completing their household tasks to have time and energy left for even neighbourhood (social) participation. While 5% had no freedom to participate in any form of community life.

But the remaining 65% from both rural and urban backgrounds, said that they mediate in big and small family disputes and help and neighbourhood to be patient and quiet. A typical expression in this regard is 'Talidasta Balatara' which means "one can live in proportion to one's patience". Similarly, these women said that they take initiative in arranging marriages of their children and of those of their neighbours. In the arrangement of marriages, they said that they participate in suggesting the probably groom and bride by going to 'see' them and mediating in negotiations with regard to mutual gifts and in collecting information about the characters of both parties.

Thus, elderly women's help in arranged marriages is indispensable. For neighbourhood help of the sick and needy, women are of great use. Many widowed women confirmed that they refused to go back to their mother or brothers. They completely depended on their neighbour's help at such difficult times as a delivery. Similarly, these women may not participate in selecting local *panchas*, or elders, but they actively participate in the neighbourhood 'occasions'. Thus, first generation respondents are not much aware of the national political life.

Regarding the second generation, the picture is not very bright. Both literacy and national political awareness do not always go together. Thus, though 88% of the second generation are literate, only 35% read newspapers and all its contents regularly; but do not discuss political matters even amongst friends. Participation of the second generation in the political activities of the neighbourhood is not possible owing to their being adolescent and at the national level it is not possible because of the general indifference to it. Only one married lady of the second generation showed keen interest in political activity because of her husband's active role in it. But no other even wished to actively participate in politics.

Almost all of them approved of participation in neighbourhood political activities as carried on by their mothers or in-laws. But the same was not possible for them at this

stage because they needed more experience to handle difficult community life situations. But there are no religious or other inhibitions to political participation. Thus, the political life of the second generation is limited by their young age and with limited life experiences and general lack of political awareness in the country. It cannot be considered a case of political discriminations.

Viṣṇu and Śiva: Composit Figure

In the archaeological section of the Central Museum, Nagpur, is a very interesting piece of sculpture in sandstone labelled as the Kūrmāvatāra (or the Tortoise incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu). Lord Viṣṇu is known to have assumed several forms on different occasions whenever unrighteousness prevailed and the rhythm of the word-order disturbed with a view to redeeming the world from the woes and restore the law of piety. Religious works however differ with regard to the Number of Viṣṇu's incarnations; rather Bhāgavata Purāṇa after giving twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu declares that the incarnations of Viṣṇu are innumerable like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. But the most commonly accepted and recognised incarnations of Viṣṇu are ten in number, and the Kūrmāvatāra (i.e. the Tortoise incarnation) is one out of these ten, standing second in the list of enumeration. Several Purāṇas mention the occasion that prompted Lord Viṣṇu to manifest himself into the form of a Tortoise. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I. 13. 16), the Kūrma Purāṇa (Chap.I), and the Mahābhārata, all narrating the same story as if depending upon the one and same source, the Devas (gods) and the Asuras (demons) churned the Ocean of Milk in order to obtain amṛta (ambrosia), the elixir that ultimately bestowed immortality on gods, when they utilised the Mandār hill as a shaft to serve the purpose of the churner. Lord Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise supported the enormous weight of the Mandār placing it on his back and the serpent Vāsuki was employed as a giant rope wound round the churner, the two ends of which were firmly grasped by the participating Devas (gods) and Asuras (demons). Such as the occasion for the Lord to transform himself into a tortoise.

In Indian art, the Tortoise incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu is represented in two different ways, either (i) in purely theriomorphic form, as an ordinary tortoise, or (ii) in a hybrid form, half-man and half-animal, the lower part being that of a tortoise, or (iii) in a hybrid form, half-man and half-animal, the lower part being that of a tortoise and the upper human part holding the usual attributes of Viṣṇu. The Nagpur Museum specimen, if viewed from the point as it is labelled, may be put under the first class. The sculpture presents a tortoise seated in the middle of a pedestal on the back of which is placed a shaft-like object. Dr. J.N. Banerjea refers to a relief, belonging to the late Gupta period,

found inside the sanctum of a small temple at Pathari in the Madhya Pradesh. In this relief, as he remarks, the Kūrmāvatāra characteristically illustrates the story of the churning of the ocean. This relief exhibits a pole placed on the back of a tortoise with a rope wound round it, the two ends of which are held on opposite sides by human figures representing the gods and the demons.

According to Beglar, the pole here stands for the Mandār hill and the rope for the Vāsuki. It would be worth while instituting a comparison between the Nagpur Museum and the Pathari examples. The points of resemblance between the two specimens are that, firstly, in both the cases Lord Viṣṇu is represented as an ordinary tortoise; secondly, the tortoise is placed on a pedestal; and thirdly, there is a small elevated object on the back of the tortoise, identifiable as the Mandār hill. The rope wound round the pole and the human figures representing the *devas* and the *asuras* on its either side, noticeable in the Pathari sculpture, are, however, missing in that of the Nagpur Museum. Dr. J.N Banerjee suggests that in hybrid forms, the upper human part invariably holds the usual attributes in the four hands, but there can be no question of finding any Vaiṣṇava emblems in the purely theriomorphic forms. But the Nagpur Museum specimen is remarkable inasmuch as the four attributes of Lord Viṣṇu, the Śaṅkha (conch), the Padma (lotus), Chakra (discus), and the Gadā (mace), are kept arranged round the tortoise on the pedestal.

There are, however, some additional points worthy of note in the Nagpur Museum specimen which render it not only more interesting and valuable, rather make its attribution doubtful, and one is apt to think that the sculpture is not as simple as it appears to be: It is not a simple representation of the Tortoise incarnation, rather something more. As already mentioned, it displays a tortoise seated on a pedestal with a shaft-like object on its back and surrounded by the four Vaiṣṇava emblems. There is, however, nothing extraordinary up to this point. But there are two unique features which perforce engage our attention. The small elevated shaft-like object on the tortoise, regarded as the representative of the Mandār hill, is not like the one as noticed in the Pathari example, rather on the very first glance it suggests the phallī emblem of Lord Śiva, in the grab of a pole representative of the Mandār hill, appear to have been placed atop the tortoise. This fact receives further confirmation if we turn our attention to the second equally important feature, i.e. to the pedestal on which the tortoise is seated. The pedestal is neither an ordinary pedestal, a simple square, rectangular or cubical block of stone, nor even a lotus-seat (*padmāsana*), rather it is a Yoni-pedestal with its characteristic lip provided for carrying away water poured on the crown of the phallus.

Representations of the Tortoise incarnation are very rare in Indian art. But whenever, they have been found, they have been found never in association either with a phallus, or with a yoni-pedestal, or with both. The theriomorphic forms of this incarnation always show ordinary tortoise placed on the pedestal, sometimes with a pole-like extension on its back. If we survey the whole mass of the phallic emblems of Lord Śiva and the Yoni-pedestals beginning from the period when a rich civilization flourished as early as the third millennium B.C. in the Indus Valley up to the present times, it becomes crystal clear that they have been found only in combination with each other, they yoni-

pedestal being exclusively kept reserved for fixing on it the phallus of Śiva. These two members have proved to be so inseparable that they cannot be thought of otherwise.

As already indicated, the theriomorphic form of the Tortoise incarnation represents ordinary tortoise unaccompanied by any Vaiṣṇava emblem. The fact that the four important emblems of Lord Viṣṇu are kept arranged on the pedestal round the tortoise in the Nagpur Museum specimen also goes to show that the artist resorted to such a method with a distinct purpose of bringing out the Vaiṣṇava characters of the sculpture in contrast to its Śiva characters in equal prominence, so as to endow Lord Viṣṇu (in the Tortoise form) with his feature in contradistinction to the combination of the phallus of Śiva with the *yoni*-pedestal.

The sculpture executed out of the reddish-grey sandstone hails from the Chanda district of the Maharashtra state and belongs to the 10th-11th Century A.D., to a period of religious rapprochement. Composite figures of Viṣṇu and Śiva are well known as Harihara representing a divine being, the left being that of Hari (Viṣṇu) and the right one that of divine (Śiva). The clear line of demarcation between the two halves is emphasised by the treatment of the crown (L. Kīrtimukuta and R. Jaṭāmukuta), the two different earrings (L. Naka- or Makara-Kuṇḍala and R. Sarpa-Kuṇḍala), emblems in their hands, and by the presence of Lakṣmī and Garuḍa on the left and Pārvatī and Nandi on the right. Such Harihara images are found all over India; but the one like the Nagpur Museum example has not so far been found anywhere in which the aniconic representations of the two supreme lords are united together. The Nagpur Museum piece of sculpture showing a tortoise seated on a Yoni-pedestal with a phallus on its back and surrounded by the four Vaiṣṇava emblems, the Saṅkha (conch), the Padma (lotus), the Chakra (discus), and the Dadā (mace) thus cannot be taken as a simple representation of the Tortoise incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, rather it is a curious composite figure of Lord Viṣṇu (in the form of a Tortoise) and Lord Śiva (in the form of a phallus, Linga, with its Yoni-pedestal). This unique piece, a rare variety of Harihara, a parallel of which if not impossible, certainly difficult to come across in Indian art, bespeaks highly of the anonymous sculptor who shaped the crude mass of stone into such a wonderful piece of sculpture.

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Worship at Śiva's Temple

Ārumuga Nāvalar (1822-1879) wrote his composition, "The Proper Way to Worship at Śiva's Temple (Śivālaya Darśana Vidhi) in 1851 and published it on the Tamil press he had established two years earlier on the Jaffna peninsula of Sri Lanka. He addressed it to the Tamil-speaking men and women of India and Sri Lanka who had been formally initiated into the Śiva religion, but who were either indifferent to its way of life or ignorant of it. Such Śaivas, he believed, were prey to the criticisms and arguments against Śaivism promulgated by Christian missionaries, especially the Protestants. Ignorance of their own way of life, he believed, explained the conversion of Śaivas to Christianity, a conversion that inevitably led them to painful future births. He was a devout adherent of Śiva and spent his life educating the Śaiva population in order to regenerate the Śaiva religion so that people fortunate enough, he believed, to be born as Śaivas could receive its benefits, the greatest of which is complete emancipation from birth and death.

Since Ārumuga Nāvalar was learned in Śaivism and in Tamil literature and was exacting in his representation of the tradition, his works are reliable expositions of the Śaiva religion as it is found among the Tamils. It is known theologically as "Śaiva Orthodoxy" (Śiva Siddhānta) and is found today in India, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Malaysia, and North America. The religion, however, is not essentially theology, but an observance (samayam) that mixes practice and doctrine so that practice leads the initiate gradually towards a greater vision of God, the soul, and the world.

Practice begins with the worship of God in one of the palaces "or temples where he resides in the form of icons, primarily as a pillar (līṅga) embedded in a pedestal (yoni). Śiva with his Śakti or energy indwells the līṅga and yoni, the līṅga signifying Śiva and the yoni signifying his Śakti, the Goddess. God and Goddess took up residence in that double icon through elaborate liturgies conducted by priests who followed in that double icon through elaborate liturgies conducted by priests who followed rites believed to have been revealed by Śiva himself. Ārumuga Nāvalar explains in detail what people are obligated to do when they visit the temple in order to obtain the vision (darśana) of Śiva? Following convention, he uses the male worshipper to represent practices obligatory for both men and women, making a distinction between them only when the rites require it. In Śiva Orthodoxy women and men may receive the same initiations for worship and Yogic

practice, and both may attain the ultimate goal of emancipation. Nāvalar explains the ideal practice, knowing that approximation of the ideal depends on individual motivation. Yet, as is customary in Hindu instruction in rites, he does not explain what those actions mean. One reason is that some meanings are embedded in traditional Tamil culture and do not have to be explained to traditional Tamil Hindus. Another is that an explicit interpretation of the rites will be given to initiates later, only after they have first mastered them.

Notably, correct performance is crucial whether or not one understands the meaning of the rite. Unintended faulty performance will generate negative karmic fruits that nevertheless may be removed through rites of purification, whereas intended faulty performance may not be purified at all. The concepts of rebirth and multiple hells explains how acts are punished after death. The intention of one's actions is crucial to Hindu thought, and Nāvalar was concerned about the matter, believing that intention is shaped by education. Among his many Tamil works, for example, is an extensive Śaiva catechism.

In order to make sense of the rites that Arumuga Nāvalar describes in the composition, let me indicate some of the patterns of thought implicit to Hindu temple architecture and liturgy as Śaivas developed them. Those developments are believed to express the instructions revealed by Śiva in the treatises known as the Vedas that he made relevant to the present degenerate age through treatises known as the Āgamas.

Worship in the temple is the beginning stage of the Śaiva way of life, and ■ an instrument designed to meet the normal human limitation of our "demonic age", the Kaliyuga. It engages the mind, voice, and body of the worshiper by focusing them on material images, built structures, and bodily rites that are apprehended through the senses in thinking, seeing, hearing, speaking, touching, and tasting. By yoking those modes of apprehension in one-pointed focus on Śiva, it is believed, Śiva's energy-that-is-grace (*arul-śakti*) will lead the devotee to eventual apprehension of God directly. Obtaining an audience with the Lord Śivā residing in the throne room actually seeing the *ling* that is his material body and being seen by him gazing through that *liṅga* is the primary way to begin a path that will lead to the direct vision of that embodied Śiva at the center of one's own soul.

Various tropes inform the concept of Śiva's dwelling place, not all of them literally consistent with one another. Central among them is that of a palace where subjects may obtain an audience with their enthroned king and queen, which we may understand this way: Subjects carrying gifts walk into the outer court of the palace and walk through a series of enclosures toward throne room, expressing servitude to the sovereign through physical gestures and prostrations along the way. They ask permission to enter from the officer in charge of the guards at the doors (*Nandi*) and enlist the help of a minister to remove any obstacles to a successful audience (*Vighneśa*). Once granted entrance to the throne room, they give gifts and praise to the sovereign (Śiva) and then humbly ask for a favour. They then venerate the sovereign's various expressions of himself on behalf of the kingdom (*Dakṣiṇamūrti*, *Somaskanda*, *Candraśekhara*, *Subrahmanya*, and the four

ācāryas), venerate the queen on her own throne (Pārvatī), and then visit the official who administers the granted favour (Candēśvara) and leave.

Modifying the figure of the palace is that of human body. As understood by Yoga, the body consists of a visible physical sheath that subsists on food, an invisible sheath inside it that subsists on breath, and inside that a sheath of mind that envelopes a sheath of insight that envelopes a sheath of joy. All those sheaths, even those of mind, insight, and joy, are composed of obscuring matter (pāśa) and constitute the body. Accordingly, the closer a person's thoughts move from the experiences of the physical body dependent on food to the inmost centre of the body, the more insightful and joyous that person becomes.

Enveloped by the body is the soul (paśu), which in part shares in nonobscuring matter while at the same time it shares in Śiva, who is not matter but pure consciousness. The soul is both the same as Śiva and different from him. Śiva dwells in the soul through grace (arulākti); one might say that the soul is the "place" where God and matter meet. According to Śaiva Orthodoxy, the final purpose of human birth is to let Śiva's grace extricate the soul from the body so that it may dwell eternally emancipated from obscuring matter and united with Śiva in love.

The palace of the first trope, then, is built on the body of the second trope. The body is of a man entranced through Yoga who lies on the ground, face up. His body in turn signifies the "body" of God which is the universe in its visible and invisible modes. The palace's entire outer wall is God's visible physical sheath. The tall entrance gateway is God's feet. Worshippers venerate that gateway as they approach, just as they venerate the feet of Śiva, on whom all things depend for their existence.

Passing through the "feet" of God, worshippers enter the invisible sheath of God's body inside the outer wall. There they encounter a flagstaff, an altar of sacrifice, and a reclining bull. The erect flagstaff signifies consciousness in that sheath of breath that the Yogi has raised up to his head and brought to a standstill through the Yogic control of breathing. His mind, insight, and joy are entranced in the vision of Śiva transcendent to the material world. The one, three, or five temple walls enclosing the liṅga's inner sanctum signify the sheaths of the Yogi's body that his consciousness had moved through when it made its upward journey to rest in a region corresponding to the place above his nose and between his eyes. That entranced consciousness in the Yogi's forehead corresponds to the temple's inner sanctum or "womb", and the Lord Śiva dwells inside both.

The "womb" brings us to the One before anything existed. The trope explaining the One is a king whose queen gives birth to his realm and sovereignty by gestating a son that is a "reb-rith" of both the father and the mother. In his formless essence, God the one is thought of as androgynous, like a king and queen enthroned as a unified pair. As that formless One, he is pure consciousness, she is primordial matter; he is intention, she is enactment; he is resolve, she is victory. The Goddess is Śiva's energy-that-is-grace (arulākti), the Śakti whom, when he wills it, transforms the androgynous One into a mode that is both with and without form, represented by the liṅga standing in the yoni. The androgynous *liṅga-yoni* inside the temple's "womb", resembling a fetus inside the uterus,

is a transformation of both king and queen. That square and dark inner sanctum called the "house of the embryo" (*garbhagrha*) or "womb" is liturgically infused with Śiva's Śakti, which is why only the pure may enter it.

Once the One has been transformed into the primordial parents, they interact to give birth to themselves over and over in multiple forms, becoming in the process time and space and all the worlds. That is the "emission or" "creation" of the universe. Architecturally, the temple represents that process by the way manifold icons and walls appear to unfold from the "womb" outward to the outer wall and the gateway, like an artist sketching the Yogi's body by beginning from his head and measuring down to his feet.

Returning to the trope of the palace, when worshipers have had their audience and walk away from the throne room and pass out through the palace gateway, they walk through the emanation of the universe. Likewise, when they walk into the palace toward the throne room, they symbolically walk through the reabsorption of the universe into the primordial parents residing in the throne room. Their walking inward and outward, moreover, corresponds to the movement of the Yogi from waking consciousness into entranced consciousness and then out of it again.

The temple also illustrates the doctrine of emancipation taught by the dominant tradition of Śaiva Orthodoxy as formulated by Meykaṇṭadevar in the thirteenth century. Śiva, the infinite number of souls, and the matter that obscures those souls remain eternally distinct, even when souls unite with Śiva in emancipating love. Using ancient agricultural symbols, they denote Śiva as the master (*pati*), the soul as a beast that may be sacrificed (*paśu*), and obscuring matter as the cord that ties up the beast for sacrifice (*pāśa*). In the temple, the *liṅga* in the inner sanctum signifies the master, the recumbent bull Nandi who always faces the *liṅga* signifies the soul, and the altar of sacrifice behind Nandi signifies the binding cords of matter. The position of the altar of sacrifice behind the bull and the bull's continuous gaze on the *liṅga* suggest the condition of the emancipated soul: It has been freed from obscuring matter and exists in a pacified state continuously exchanging gazes with its master in whose service it finds its true life. For reason of that symbolism, it appears, worshipers are forbidden to break the gaze between Nandi and Śiva by walking between them.

There is also the trope of the human body as a complex set of parts with varying qualities. Among them, the head has the highest status and the feet the lowest, with the navel as the dividing line. To venerate another person or a god or an object, one places the head at that person's feet or at the equivalent of the feet. The region below the navel is impure compared with the region above the navel, and therefore worshippers must carry their gifts to Śiva above the waist. The right side has a higher and more auspicious status than the left side, so worshippers and priests will always give and receive with the right hand, and will generally circumbulate with the right side toward the object they are venerating.

Among the genders, men and women have different bodies and thus different rules for behaviour. There is a distinction between an eight-part prostration for males and

a five-part prostration for females. Whereas, females are required to be covered above the waist, males should be uncovered above the waist in the presence of Lord Śiva. Relations between the genders in the temple are to be completely nonsensual, not because sensuality is evil, but because desire is to be focussed only on the king one has come to see. The proper setting for sensual pleasure is in the household between husband and wife, where desire can be kept in check while being satisfied.

Anything that move from inside the body to the outside like saliva and urine, or comes off the body like hair and nails, or that dies becomes a pollutant to ritual purity. Worshippers are therefore prohibited from eating and drinking, shaving, combing the hair, spitting, blowing the nose, passing gas, urinating, defecating, emitting sexual fluids, and menstruating in the temple. They also may not enter when polluted by the birth or a death of a relative, because birth and death pollutions automatically travel along kinship relations whether actual physical contact with the pollutant (birth fluids or corpse) has been made or not. The bodies of kin are assumed to interpenetrate. If the temple does not sustain its ritual purity, it is believed, the daily rites conducted by the priests will be faulty and the government and the realm will suffer. The liturgical service of Śiva thus has direct bearing on social well-being.

The exception to the rule of pollution are cattle. Since the cow gives birth and then the milk essential to Śiva's rites, she represents female transformative power and gracious self-giving; since the powerful bull fertilizes the cow so that she gives birth and the milk, he represents male potency controlled in obedient service to Śiva. Cattle therefore top the animal hierarchy. Their bodily effusions (milk, urine, and dung) are not polluting but purifying. Cattle dung mixed with water is a purifying agent used domestically and liturgically by Hindus; cattle dung has none of the unclean connotations found in modern urban cultures, though Hindus share those feelings with regard to the dung of other animals.

Similar to the figure of the human body is the figure of the universe, which is thought of as being like a human body turned inside out: The visible bodily sheath exists at the center and the invisible material sheaths exist at its outer boundary. The world we inhabit and see through our senses is that visible bodily sheath of God's body. Like our own, it goes through stages of purity and pollution, which are measured by the sun, the moon, and the stars. Humans must adjust their actions to those cosmic rhythms of purity and pollution. Sunset, for example, is the time when demons emerge from the west to rule the night; sunrise is the time when sun emerges from the east to rule the day.

The Śaiva's personal rites should begin before sunrise to harmonise with increasing purity. Bathing removes the pollutions brought about by sleep and the night. Worship in the temple around sunset purifies one against demons during the dangerous transition to night. Similar patterns emerge in the distinctions between the "dark half" of the waning moon and the "light half" of the waxing moon; between the "dark half" of the year beginning from the summer solstice and the "light half" beginning from the winter solstice; and between the days of the week and periods of the day ruled over by the seven "graspers of human destiny" (Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn), Saturn being especially dangerous.

Not only time but also directional space has differing qualities. In the cultures of Bhārata (the region extending from the southern end of Śrī Lanka to the Himalayas in the north), the meanings of the cardinal and intermediary directions always have had a determining influence on the way people build structures and lead their lives. Without explaining why, Ārumuga Nāvalar gives precise instructions on where to place the head when prostrating, where not to place the feet, and where the priest is to stand when conducting the worship of the *liṅga*. It depends on the direction in which the Lord Śiva faces in a particular temple, usually east, but sometimes west, south, or north. Temples are almost always built aligned to the cardinal directions and their rites must be adjusted to the distinctive qualities of those directions.

The east is an auspicious direction because the sun rises and purity begins there, while the west is an inauspicious direction because the sun disappears there as demons arise and pollution begins. The north is auspicious because the gods dwell in the Himalayas (such as Śiva on Kailāsa), which lie south of the mountain at the center of earth called Meru. The south, however, is inauspicious because Yama, the god of the dead, dwells there overseeing a variety of purgatorial hells, and from the south he sends servants north to fetch those on Bhārata whose time it is to die and face rebirth or purgation.

Consequently, during temple worship one may point the feet (the low-status part of the body) toward the west or south (the inauspicious directions), but not toward the east or north (and not toward the west whenever the sun is undergoing a crucial transition). Similarly, when conducting rites the priest serving the *liṅga* must stand to the side of Śiva that will allow him to face north or east with his back to the south or west: When Śiva is facing east, for example, he stands at Śiva's right side, facing north with his back to the south while worshippers stand at Śiva's right side facing northwest toward him.

The circumambulation of Śiva's "womb" (from east to south to west to north back to east) is believed to follow the direction in which the sun circumambulates the central mountain, Meru; it signifies the auspicious emanation of the universe, of daylight, and of life. Worshipers move in that direction when desiring well-being. The counterclockwise direction signifies the inauspicious resorption of the universe, the emergence of night, and of death. Ascetics who have renounced the well-being of the householder life in favor of emancipation circumambulate in that direction, as do those householder who want emancipation along with worldly well-being.

Finally, we may note the social distinctions made explicit by the temple liturgy. Following ancient thought, Śaivism recognises the four-class division of society that is believed to be built into the hierarchical structure of the universe. In any ritual context, Brāhmins take precedence over Kṣatriyas, who take precedence over vaiśyas, who take precedence over śūdras, who take precedence over "the fifth class", the untouchables. Yet the Āgama tradition modifies that classification when it comes to the worship of Śiva and the relations among Śaivas. Men and women of the first four classes may receive the

same initiations and worship in the temple. Sudras who have been initiated have the same status as Vaisyas and need not recognise the authority of brahmins who have not been initiated. Untouchables may receive other initiations and worship Śiva outside the gateway.

The Tamil Social context modifies the practice even further, because the society has long been composed primarily of castes classified as Śūdra and untouchable with a minority of Brāhmins. There have been few Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The social, cultural, and intellectual leadership of the society and of Śaivism has been in the hands of śūdras and brahmins for centuries, and Ārumuga Nāvalar was himself from a caste classified as śūdra. Belief in the power of initiations and mantras taught in Śiva's Āgamas to purify anyone for the worship of God that leads to emancipation from birth and death has made Śaivism the dominant religion by far among the Tamils for centuries.

The following translation is of the fifth edition of *Civalayataricanaviti* (The Proper Way to Worship in Śiva's Temple), published in Madras by the Vittiyanupalana Yantiracalai in 1882, with Ārumuga Nāvalar's proof texts from Tamil scriptures omitted. As customary, Nāvalar began his composition by invoking the Goddess, Śiva's Śakti, with a symbol and by appealing to Gaṇapati, the Lord of Obstacles (Vighneśa), to remove obstacles to its successful completion. He ended it by invoking Śiva residing at Cidambaram, the cultic heart of Śaiva Orthodoxy, and by blessing the feet of the thirteenth-century theologian, Meykaṇṭādevar, whose authoritative interpretations Ārumuga Nāvalar intended to articulate.

The Proper Way to Worship at Śiva's Temple

1. Śaiva initiates are those people who have determined that the primordial God, who is without beginning and whose form is joy and consciousness, is the Lord Śiva himself. With true love, they follow him as appropriate to their respective classes and stages of life according to the rules of the Vedas and Āgamas that he has graciously created.
2. The Lord Śiva, the repository of compassion, graciously receives adherence from those who live in this world by dwelling externally in the Śiva Liṅga and in other auspicious forms within auspicious temples and in the auspicious guise of his true slaves, and by dwelling internally within the soul. These are therefore places to adhere to him.
3. This adhering to Śiva is a body whose limbs are virtues such as desiring few possessions, not killing, not eating meat, not stealing, not drinking liquor, not desiring another's wife, not hankering for prostitutes, mercy, truth, patience, self-control, liberal giving, and adhering ■ one's mother and father and other elderly people. The conclusion, therefore, is that adherence to Śiva without these virtues will produce not the slightest benefits.
4. The insignia of Śiva worn as protection by Śaiva initiates who follow this adherence are ash and the "eyes of Rudra" beads. It is certain that meritorious deeds performed for Śiva without wearing them will produce not the slightest benefit...

5. The Śiv Liṅga inside the auspicious temple is called "the liṅga for the sake of other". It has five types: the self-generated *liṅga*, the *liṅga* of humans. Among them, the self-generated *liṅga* appeared on its own. The *liṅga* of Śiva's companions was established by Vināyaka, Subrahmanya, and other companions. The *liṅga* of humans was established by humans. Of higher status than the *liṅga* of humans is the *liṅga* of the seers, higher than that is the *liṅga* of the gods, higher than that is the *liṅga* of the companions, and higher than that is the self-generated *liṅga*...
6. The Lord who is the Śiva Liṅga is inside the "womb" [inner sanctum] within the auspicious temple, and the place surrounding it is the first enclosure. Beyond it is the second enclosure, beyond it the third enclosure, beyond, || the fourth enclosure, and beyond it the fifth enclosure. Beyond it is the realm of the village, which is the sixth enclosure. The benefits of circumambulating the Śiva Liṅga in the "womb" are greater for walking around the second enclosure than around the first, for walking around the third enclosure than around the second, for walking around the fourth enclosure than around the third, for walking around the fifth enclosure than around the fourth, and for walking around the sixth enclosure [the village] than around the fifth...
7. Those who are qualified to perform the worship of "the *liṅga* for the sake of other's are Śiva's Ācāryas. They are Śiva brahmins known as 'the original Śaiva's because they were born in lineages of the five seers beginning with Kāśyapa that appeared from the five faces of the form of the eternal Śiva at the time of emanation. They should have no mental or physical defects, have received the four initiations (samaya-dīkṣā, viśeṣa-dīkṣā, nirvāṇa-dīkṣā, ācāryadīkṣā), and know how to recite the Vedas and Āgamas. They should be adept in performing the six types of liturgies (the daily liturgies and their subsidiaries, the periodical liturgies and their subsidiaries, the liturgies and their subsidiaries, the periodical liturgies and their subsidiaries, the liturgies performed to fulfill specific desires and their subsidiaries) and the three elements of mantra, visualisation, and rite faultlessly, with faith, and according to the rules. If anyone other than these people even touches "the *liṅga* for the sake of other" ruin will arise for king and society...
8. The Śiva Ācāryas who conduct worship should conduct it standing on the right side of the iconic presence of God if it faces east or south and on the left side if the presence faces west or north...
9. The Śaivas qualified to administer an auspicious temple are those who have no mental or physical defect, have received all three initiations (samaya-dīkṣā, viśeṣa-dīkṣā, nirvāṇa-dīkṣā), know the Śaiva Āgamas and the Śiva Purāṇas, and are devoted to Śiva. Those who administer an auspicious temple with faith and according to the rules, without designs on the property and other things that bring worldly profit, receive Śiva's glory in this life and then attain Śiva's realm. But those who conduct their administration with the purpose of worldly profit and

steal Śiva's realm. But those who conduct their administration with the purpose of worldly profit and steal Śiva's property curtail the ancient regulations and will be punished...

10. Worship and other things must be conducted within an auspicious temple every day without fail and according to the rules. If there is a lapse, evil will arise for the king and the world. If there is a lapse, evil will arise for the king and the world...
11. Śaiva initiates should go to an auspicious temple each day, obtain the sight of Śiva with faith and according to the rules, and then return home.
12. Those who want to obtain the vision of Śiva ought to go to an auspicious temple once they have bathed according to the rules in the Śiva bathing place near Śiva's abode and, standing on its bank, dry themselves with a dry cloth, place ash on the forehead, tie the hair into a knot, remove the wet loincloth and replace it with a dry one, purify both hands, tie two pieces of clean cloth that are untorn and have been washed and dried around the waist, and complete the rites and prayers. Those who go to an auspicious temple without the bath and other disciplines are like those who sneer at Śiva...
13. When going to the auspicious temple, they ought to go with a plate held up in the hands so that it does not fall below the waist, on which they have placed such things as a coconut, fruit, and areca nut and betel leaves. When going to serve the Lord Śiva, the mandate of Śiva, or the Ācārya, it is proper not to go empty-handed but to place the things to be given in his Presence and then venerate. He who possesses nothing should give beautiful flowers and then venerate. He who cannot do even that should remove such things as dry leaves that are in the Presence and then venerate.
14. When they approach the auspicious temple they ought to venerate the gateway, which is the "massive liṅga," enter inside with both hands piled on the head, and then prostrate on this side of the altar of sacrifice, which is the "beautiful liṅga".
15. Men should perform the prostration with eight parts of the body, women with five parts. Prostration with three parts of the body is common to both...
16. The eight-part prostration is to venerate by touching eight bodily parts to the ground: the head, both hands, both ears, the chin, and both arms, with the legs stretched out their full length. The five-part prostration is to venerate by touching five bodily parts to the ground: the head, both hands, and both knees, with only the legs below the knee stretched out. The three-part prostration is pressing both hands together on the head...
17. Prostrations should be done three times or five times or seven times or nine times or twelve times. Doing it only once or twice is a mistake.
18. When prostrating, the legs should stretch to the west or south, not to the east or north.
19. They ought to perform prostration by placing the head at the Agni corner [SE] of an altar of sacrifice when the Presence faces east, at the Nirṛti corner [SW] of an altar of sacrifice when the Presence faces south or west, and the Vāyu corner [NW]

when the Presence faces north; by stretching the right hand straight ahead and the left hand straight behind in order to span the ground and then reversing the order; by stretching the hands at the waist in order to rub the right arm and left arm in the dust; and by first rubbing the right ear in the dust and afterwards the left ear...

20. If they go to obtain the vision of Śiva in the late afternoon of a dangerous eclipse or of the beginning of the sun's northward course, they may not stretch their feet toward the west where the sun is beginning to set; therefore they should not perform the eight-part or five-part prostration at the Presence that faces south or north, but only the three-part prostration...
21. Having venerated in the above manner, they ought to arise and join the hands in worship and conduct a circumambulation of the inner sanctum while thinking steadily of the Lord Śiva, holding prayer beads in the hand and uttering the five-syllable *mantra* (namaḥāyaśivāya) or folding both hands together at the region of the heart; and, walking like a woman in an advanced states of pregnancy who places a pot full of oil on her head and puts one foot carefully in front of the other, they ought to watch the ground while absorbed in thinking. "Will I injure any creature?" and place their feet carefully...
22. They should perform the circumambulation of the Lord Śiva three times or five times or seven times or nine times or fifteen times or twenty-one times...
23. They should perform circumambulation of Vinayak one time, of Sūrya two times, and of the goddess Pārvatī and of Viṣṇu four at a time...
24. If a shadow falls within the enclosure for circumambulation from the tower above the inner sanctum or from the flagstaff, they ought to avoid the shadow by three-fifths and walk in the remaining two-fifths. If there is a shadow when walking during a festival of God, however, it need not be avoided.
25. At the time of the unction rites for the gods, acts such as circumambulation and veneration are not to be performed inside the inner wall.
26. Students before marriage ought to circumambulate with the right side toward the inner sanctum or "womb", clockwise. Householders and forest-dwellers ought to walk both clockwise with the right side toward the "womb" and counter-clockwise with the left side toward the "womb". Renunciant ascetics ought to walk counterclockwise. Worldly enjoyment arises from walking clockwise, emancipation arises from walking counter clockwise; and both worldly enjoyment and emancipation arise from walking both clockwise and counter clockwise...
27. The Svāyambhava Āgama speaks of walking clockwise and counterclockwise inside the "womb". It enjoins that only the Śiva Brāhman who conducts the worship may circumambulate inside the "womb." Circumambulating clockwise and counter clockwise inside the "womb" should be done if one does not walk across the shadow of the Śiva Liṅga or unremoved offerings or the drain for the Liṅga's unction. The Kalottara Āgama enjoins that circumambulation clockwise and counterclockwise should be done inside the "womb" and circumambulation clockwise inside the outer walls.

28. They ought to walk around [the inner sanctum] until they reach the altar of sacrifice and the bull within the enclosure in which they are circumambulating. If there is no altar of sacrifice within that enclosure, they ought to circumambulate up to the altar of sacrifice and bull inside the next outer wall. According to the Kalottara Āgama, they should not go in the middle between the Śiva Linga and the altar of sacrifice and the bull, in whichever enclosure they are located.
29. Once they have circumambulated and have performed veneration in the manner stated above ought to arise and join the hands in worship, venerate the door guardians, and then venerate and praise the auspicious god Nandi, who is master of the companions, and beseech him, "O Bhagavān, graciously grant permission for me your slave who has attained your auspicious feet to enter in so I may receive the fruit of having seen the Lord Śiva", and go inside.
30. First they ought to reach the Iconic Presence of Viḡheśa, the Lord of Obstacles, press both hands together, gaze at him and visualise him mentally, make fists with both hands and hit their forehead three times, seize their right ear with their left hand and their left ear with their right hand, pull down three times, and praise him.
31. Then, with both hands piled on the head, they ought to reach the Presence of Lord Śiva, gaze at him and visualise him mentally, join the hands at the head and the heart, and while the mind dissolves, body hair stands on end, and joy wells up and overflows, sing hymns of praise to him with one out of the thirty-two ragas that is appropriate to that time of day.
32. The most elevated of the hymns of praise are certainly from the five Tamil poems inspired by divine grace, which are the Tēvāram, the Tiruvācakam, the Tiruvicaippā, the Tiruppallāṇṭu, and the Periyapurāṇam.
33. Once they have had the priest make the bael leaf offering to the Lord Śiva, feed him the fruits and other items purified according to the rules, and perform the service of waving burning camphors, they ought to give him the appropriate ritual gift that makes those acts their rather than his.
34. In order to perform the offering of flowers with Śiva's primordial *mantra* (namaḥ śivāya), Śiva's brahmans ought to enter into the "womb", other brahmans into the entrance hall to the "womb", and kṣatriyas into the great hall before the entrance hall. Saisīyas ought to move to the front of the bull and śūdras ought to move to the rear of the bull, make a four-cornered figure on the ground with cowdung, and worship with Śiva's primordial mantra. That is prescribed in the Aṁsumān Āgama.
35. They the ought to gaze at images of deities such as Dakṣiṇamūrti, Somaskanda, candracsekharā, and Subrahmaṇya and of all four of the ācāryas of the religion, and venerate and praise them.
36. Afterward they ought to approach the presence of the goddesses Pārvati, fold their hands at their head and heart, gaze at her, visualise her mentally, perform offerings and other rites, and praise her.

37. Finally they ought to receive ash and apply it, circumambulate, approach the iconic Presence of Candéśvara, venerate and praise him, and clapping three times beseech him to give them the fruit of having obtained the vision of Śiva.
38. They ought then to return to the god Nandi and venerate and praise him, come to this side of the altar of sacrifice, prostrate three times, arise, sit down facing north and while visualizing the Lord Śiva mentally utter the five-syllable *mantra* a suitable number of times, and then arise and go home.
39. When returning from the vision of Śiva they should leave without showing their backside either to their Lord Śiva or to Nandi, the god who is a bull.
40. If the vision of Śiva is obtained at daybreak, sin committed during the night disappears; if obtained at midday, sin committed from the day of birth disappears; if obtained in the evening sin committed during seven births disappears. Therefore all Śaiva initiates every day, at all times without fail, ought to obtain the vision of Śiva with true love according to the rules.
41. Obtaining the vision of Śiva on Monday, on the eighth lunar day, on the evening of the thirteenth lunar day of the waxing moon and of the waning moon, on the full moon, on the new moon, on the auspicious day of the Ārdra constellation, on the first day of the sun's northward course after the winter solstice, on the first day of the sun's southward course after the summer solstice, on the spring equinox, on the autumn equinox, on the day beginning a month, on the eclipse of the sun, on the eclipse on the moon, on the Night of Śiva, and on other such meritorious times is deemed meritorious action of the highest order for Śiva.
42. Those who, while visualising the Lord Śiva mentally and reciting the five syllable *mantra* verbally, perform bodily prostration from the beginning of sunrise until sunset or for a period of three hours will become free of all evil deeds and attain emancipation.
43. The "drain circumambulation" is done this way. Gaze at Nandi, the god who is a bull, and walk to his left [around the inner sanctum] and gaze at Candéśvara; returning the same way, gaze again at the bull and proceed to his right to the north, but do not cross the cow gargoyle whose mouth is the mouth of the drain from the Liṅga. Inside the "womb", return the same way, gaze at the bull, and walk to his left [around the inner sanctum] to gaze at candéśvara; return again but without gazing at the bull pass to his right, to the north, and to the mouth of the drain; return again without gazing at the bull and pass to his left to gaze at Candéśvara; return and gaze at the bull and then gaze at the Lord who is Śiva's Liṅga and whorship. When leaving the temple, a "circumambulation of one's own soul" should be performed. A single circumambulation performed in this manner produces an endless quantity of fruit. It is especially excellent if this circumambulation occurs with the "evil period"...
44. The "evil period" is the name for the ninety minutes before and the ninety minutes after sunset on the thirteenth lunar day that comes in each of the two halves of the month, the "light half" of the waxing moon and the "dark half" of the waning moon.

When Viṣṇu and the other gods were churning their Ocean of Milk for the elixir of "deathlessness", they saw the Halāhala poison arise first, and were racked by fear. When it closed in on them from the right and left they fled to the auspicious mountain Kailāsa and hid in the testicle of Nandi, the god who is a bull. The Halāhala poison followed them there, and to protect them the Lord Śiva sat down between the bull's horns, picked up the poison in his auspicious hand, and ate it. Then he stood between the horns and graciously danced. That happened during the crescent moon in the evening of the thirteenth lunar day, a Saturday. A different version of this story of the "evil period" is also told. According to it, the Lord Śiva ate the Halāhala poison and protected the gods in the evening of the eleventh day. When the elixir of "deathlessness" appeared from the Ocean of Milk, on the twelfth day the gods ate it, and on the evening of the thirteenth day the gods venerated the Lord Śiva by worshipping him. The Lord Śiva then graciously stood on the bull. During the "evil period" one should touch the testicle of the god who is a bull and utter "Hara, Hara" with the mantra Om while gazing between his two horns at the Lord who is Śiva's Liṅga.

45. If, with true love, one obtains the vision of Śiva during the evil period, debt, poverty, sickness, anxiety, distress, untimely death, the pangs of death, and sin disappear and emancipation will be realized.
46. Meritorious acts to perform for Śiva inside a temple are these: Arising every day before sunrise, bathing, and when the daily rites are completed, sweeping up the insects in the temple with a soft broom without killing them; collecting dung emerging from a cow that has not recently calved and is not sick on a leaf before the dung falls on the ground, or, if that is not possible, turning upside down dung that has fallen on a clean place and, picking up the middle portion, mixing it with water selected from such places as a reservoir or river and smearing it on the temple floor to clean it; picking flowers from an auspicious garden according to the rules, removing the ruined parts, tying them into a garland, and adorning the Lord Śiva with it; singing the Tamil Veda with Rāgas in Śiva's Presence; playing it on the sārāṅgi; singing hymns to Śiva while clapping the hands and dancing joyously; burning fragrant incense; lighting auspicious lamps; reading Śiva Purāṇas aloud and explaining their meanings; listening to them; sponsoring temple service and acts of worship according to one's own means; etc...
47. Mistakes not to be made inside an auspicious temple are these: Going to the temple without the proper conduct; going without washing the feet; going while polluted because of a birth or a death; spitting; excreting and urinating; blowing fluid from the nose onto the ground; passing intestinal gas; chewing areca nut and betel leaves; spitting chewed betel; eating and drinking; sleeping; having oneself shaved; taking an oil bath; examining the hair; combing and tying the hair; playing dice; tying a cloth around the head; wearing the upper cloth over the shoulders; covering oneself; carrying a torch for oneself; sitting on a high place; sitting on a throne; treading on shadows cast by the tower, the flagstaff, the latar of sacrifice,

the bull, and the images; touching the images and offerings already made; placing one's own shadow in the shadow of the auspicious lamp and in the shadow of the Śiva līṅga; flattering women; touching women; looking at women covetously; copulating with women; performing prostration and uttering prayer on the left side of the Presence that faces south and of the Presence that faces east; prostrating only once or twice; performing circumambulation only once or twice; circumambulating at a run; going between the Lord Śiva and Nandi, the god who is a bull; showing one's backside to them; crowding together in a bunch; obtaining the vision of Śiva at an inauspicious time; prostrating between the Lord Śiva and the altar of sacrifice; talking idly; talking indecently; listening to indecency; laughing; singing idle songs; listening to idle songs; hankering for the gods' wealth; flattering the vulgar; disparaging the esteemed; following malignant gods; worshipping while standing directly in front of the Lord Śiva or behind him or to this left; not trimming an auspicious lamp although one sees that it has gone out; worshipping when there is not an auspicious lamp; entering inside to worship instead of worshipping at the place where a festival is graciously taking place; worshipping gurus and others; and so on. Impure acts such as excreting and urinating, spitting, blowing the nose, and copulating are also not to be performed in Śiva's bathing place, in an auspicious garden, or in an auspicious hall. If any one makes one of these mistakes out of ignorance and utters the Rudra Mantra, that mistake disappears. If a person not qualified for the Rudra mantra utters the Aghora mantra one thousand times, that mistake disappear. People who make these mistakes knowingly will fall into hell and suffer and there is no purification for them...

48. Those who want to make a pilgrimage to a distant place of Śiva ought to bathe on an auspicious day, complete their daily rites, place a ring of darbha grass on the fourth finger of the right hand in front of a true brahman outstanding in culture, knowledge, and conduct, and make the solemn vow, I am obliged to make a pilgrimage to the place of Śiva, and perform the auspicious feeding of the ascetic slaves of Śiva. They then ought to take in hand the goods pertaining to one on the path of the good and right and set out from the house. Having discarded completely all evil qualities like desire and anger, they ought to travel without eating the food of strangers or buying the handgoods of others, and each day do such things as utter the five-syllable *mantra*, worship Śiva, recite the Tēvāram Tamil Veda, obtain the vision of Śiva, hear the Śiva Purāṇas, and worship the gods by worshipping the devotees of Śiva. Travelling in this manner, when they reach the intended place of Śiva, they ought to prostrate to the gateway from a distance and then rise up and proceed, forsaking food for that day. They then ought to have themselves shaved, bathe according to the rules, offer balls of cooked rice to their ancestors, give the required ritual gift to a Brāhman of the highest worthiness that is appropriate to him, and then enter the auspicious temple and obtain the vision of Śiva according to the rules, give the Lord Śiva substances befitting him, and worship.

49. Those of highest worthiness qualified to receive the required ritual gift are Brāhmanas who recite and understand the Vedas and Āgamas and the Śiva Purāṇas, who have completely discarded sins, who perform the morning twilight worship, the worship of Śiva and other such rites without fail, according to the rules, and with faith, who live according to the duties of householders, and who are learned. They who give the ritual gift to anyone else will be born for ten births as a lizard, three births as a donkey, two births as a frog, one birth as an untouchable, and then as a Śūdra, a Vaiśya, Kṣatriya, and a Brahman, and will whirl around suffering from poverty and disease. They therefore should give the ritual gift only to Brahmanas of highest worthiness. If there is no such person of high status in that place, they should resolve formally to give generously to a high-status person in another place and take property worthy of him and give it to him. If he has died, they should give it to his son. If he also has died, they should give it to the Lord Śiva...
50. They ought to bathe in Śiva's bathing place there each day for three days, or five days, or fifteen days, or a month, or a year, and dwell there worshipping Śiva, obtaining the vision of Śiva in his abode, worshipping the gods by worshipping Śiva's devotees when appropriate, and studying texts about Śaivism. Those who have no wealth ought to give the ascetic slaves of Śiva just a single handful of food before they eat. Once they have stayed their allotted time, they ought to worship the Lord Śiva and take leave of him, come to the outer limit of the temple and go to the gateway and prostrate, and then prostrate at the auspicious boundary of the realm. When, by following the discipline described earlier, they have reached their own village they ought to perform the feeding of Brāhmanas and the worship of the gods by worshipping Śiva's devotees...
51. Even though they possess human birth that is difficult to obtain and were born in Bhārata, which is the land of meritorious action where the true treatises that are the Vedas the Āgamas flourish, and in a Śaiva lineage of a caste that performs the rites of devotion, may people nevertheless pay no attention at all to the great value of these things. And even though they have studied and heard about the greatness of the Lord Śiva who is the repository of compassion and about meritorious deeds and sins and about their fruits, they remain ignorant, do not renounce sins and perform meritorious deeds, but spend the days of their lives idly and become prey for burning hells. A few people, even though they try in some way or another to begin to perform a few meritorious deeds, have no knowledge at all about the proper way to do them and they cover themselves only in sin, like one who spreads mud over himself when he has gone to bathe. Yet those Śaiva initiates who do not destroy themselves in this way but consider instead that this human birth is rare to obtain and the boundary that transcends it is rare know, who read and understand this composition, and who renounce sins and adhere to the Lord Śiva's feet with mind, speech, and body according to the rules and with love, ought to receive the transcendent joy that is eternal and be freed.

Yoga in the Trika System

Introduction

There were two prevalent systems of Yoga in ancient India, one practiced mainly by monks, the other by householders. The yoga practiced by monks developed into two main systems; the Brāhmanic school of *patanjali* to be practiced according to Brāhmanic codes of discipline, and the non-Brāhmanic system of *Hatha Yoga* developed by *Gerakhanātha* and practiced by a wide variety of monks like the *Jogins*, *Oghars*, and *Peers* who belonged to all castes and creeds. The system of Yoga popular with householders was developed by *siddhas* or “perfected ones”. It was patronised by great royal saints and practiced mostly by Brāhmanic householders. It developed into the Tantric Yoga systems of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and later with minor variations, into Buddhism as well. This Yoga evolved into various forms including the *Kuṇḍalini Yoga* of Śaivism in the South, the *Pāñcarātra* system of the *Vaiṣṇavas*, and the *Vajrayāna* system of Buddhism which is still practiced in the form of *Lāmāism* in Tibet, Nepal, and Mongolia.

The Tantric Yoga of *Abhinavagupta* is significantly different from all of these systems. It is known as the *Trika yoga* of Kashmir Śaivism. Its doctrines originally lay scattered in *Trika* texts like the *Mālinītra*, the *Siddhātāntra*, and the *Svacchandatantra*. Some of its doctrines were contained in various ancient monistic Śaiva texts like the *Rudrayāmala*, which contains two chapters of particular importance to this system: the *Vijñānabhairava* and the *Parātriṣikā*. *Trika yoga* was prevalent among traditional lines of Śaiva saints in Kashmir, and its truths found expression in ancient works like the *Śivasūtra* and the *Spandakārikā*. Ancient teachers of Kashmir Śaivism practiced this yoga and made it popular with spiritual aspirants in Kashmir. The most prominent among such teachers, were philosopher-sages like *Vasugupta*, *Kallāṭa*, *Somānanda* and *Utpaladeva*, all of whom flourished in the ninth century A.D. *Śivānanda*, the originator of the *Kālināya* practice of *Trika Yoga* (discussed below), belongs to the eighth century AD.

The *Trika Yoga* system was academically developed at the end of the tenth century by *Abhinavagupta*, who collected its doctrines, and then arranged, analysed, and

systematised them extensively in several of his important works. He is thus the builder of the academic aspect of Trika Yoga. His *Tantrāloka* is a unique philosophical and theological treatise dealing with the fundamentals of Śaiva non-dualism. This work also covers most of the central practices of Trika Yoga as well as the ritualistic traditions that support it. *Abhinavaguptaś Tantrasātra* is a prose summary of his *Tantrāloka*, but is more clearly expressed than the original work. *Tantravataḍhānikā* is a still shorter version of *Tantrasāra*, but it appears to be the work of some other Abhinavagupta, most probably his cousin Abhinava, who is referred to in the last chapter of *Tantrāloka*. Other important works on Trika Yoga by Abhinavagupta are the *Mālinīmantra* and the *Kramakellī* on *Siddhanāthaś Kramastotra* were also of great importance, but have unfortunately been lost. Doctrines on Trika Yoga also find expression in some of his religious-philosophical lyrics like *Anubhavanivedanastotra*, *Bhairavastotra*, *Anuttarāṣṭikā* and *Kramastotra*.

The Trika Yoga philosophy that Abhinavagupta organised is also a Tantrics system based on the Śaiva Āgamas. However, Trika Yoga is a monistic system with a pragmatic approach. It is also more refined and sophisticated than the Kuṇḍalinī Yoga of the south, which though included in Trika Yoga, is assigned a comparatively lower position in the system.

Distinctive Features

Looking at the two systems of Yoga prevalent in ancient India reveals some interesting contrasts with Abhinavaguptaś school. Patañjaliś system of yoga emphasizes repressing the emotions and instincts, forcibly controlling the mind, depriving the senses and organs, and observing other strict disciplines in day-to-day life. A form of meditation that calls for continuous concentration on imagined objects and also on certain energy centers in the body is the most important practice prescribed in Patañjaliś school. This approach can be practiced properly only by ascetics living in a hermitage and working under the constant guidance and supervision of a skilled preceptor. The Haṭha Yoga system of Gorakhanātha adds physical practices which can result in considerable torture of one's senses, organs, and whole physical system. The Tantric Yoga of the south had adopted the methods of Patañjali and added the practice of rousing the kuṇḍalinī and directing it upwards through the spinal cord to the crown of the head. Kuṇḍalinī Yoga is an element in the system of Gorakhanātha as well. Teachers in the south did not develop a separate system based on the Śaiva doctrines contained in the Āgamas, but adopted and revised the already prevalent system of Patañjali.

The Tantric Yoga of Abhinavagupta is a particularly Āgamic system. It is free from all stringent restrictions and repressive discipline. It discourages torturing the body and mind, or starving the senses. Even methods of breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*) that cause physical discomfort have been prohibited by Abhinavagupta who says in *Tantrāloka*:

Breath control should not be practiced if it means torture to the body (*Tantrāloka*, IV, 19).

Calling on the authority of his greatest preceptor, Sambhunātha, Abhinavagupta clearly states that the sense can only give up their fascination for worldly enjoyments through a spontaneous indifference arising from the blissful experiences that yoga elicits. In other words, once a practitioner has discovered the inner bliss of the self, all the common sense pleasures will seem inadequate by comparison, and will therefore no longer be a temptation. He adds that the senses are liable to adverse reactions if these are forcibly controlled. He puts it this way in *Mālinīvijayavārttika*:

It is so because my revered preceptor has thus advised many times during his teachings, 'The emotional functions of one's senses and organs calm themselves through spontaneous indifference (towards their objects when these become tasteless for them). But, on the other hand, these become liable to adverse reactions as long as they are forcibly repressed (*Mālinīvijayavārttika*, II. 111-12).

Regarding the forcible repression and control of the mind, Abhinavagupta says in the same work that a repressed mind, just like a repressed steed, attempt to break loose into numerous uneven paths, if driven forcibly through an unfamiliar and disagreeable course:

The mind of those aspirants who force it to give up its familiar path, runs astray, just like a steed on millions of wrong paths. (*ibid.*, II. 109).

Abhinavagupta does not prescribe a hermits life for the Śiva yogin, who is free to live without restrictions, to remain in the household, and to participate in pleasures of the senses and the mind within the limits of the currently acceptable social standards. In other words, one is free to live a normal life and at the same time to pursue some method of Trika Yoga. As soon as the seeker's practice in Yoga yields the experience of Self-bliss, worldly enjoyments automatically lose their power and fascination, and one's senses develop a spontaneous indifference, known as *anādaravirakti*, to former pleasures. Once seekers have become expert practitioners in the experience of Self-bliss, they are able to move freely through worldly enjoyments without any fear of spiritual pollution. Such enjoyment can actually serve to further illumine the extraordinary experience of Self-bliss. As Abhinavagupta explains:

The mind (of a Śiva Yogin) does not become wet (or stained) from within, just like the rind of a dried gourd which has no opening, even if it dives deep into the water of sensual pleasures (*Mālinīvijayavārttika*, I.108).

While systematising the scattered scriptural doctrines of Trika Yoga, Abhinavagupta focuses only on those practices which are aimed at the attainment of Self-realization (*mokṣa*). He leaves out numerous all of that to be in the realm of *bhoga*

(enjoyment). Among the various practices that lead to Self-realisation, he chooses only the most prominent ones and leaves the correct classification of the rest to the discretion of the reader. Even with his careful distillation of the scriptural works, there are about six thousand verses (*kārikās*) in his *Tantrāloka*.

In his discussion of Trika Yoga begins Abhinavagupta begins with the most advanced approach, and then presents successively easier methods one by one in descending order. This is another example of his particular approach to Yoga. His intention is to make the best and the quickest method of yoga immediately available to all aspirants. If they succeed at the highest level, they need not go through the long chain of lower stages. However, if certain aspirants feel that they cannot handle the most advanced path successfully, then they are free to move along a more structured path and to choose any of the methods that accommodate their psychophysical capacity. The important point is that spiritual students should not assume that they are not fit for the most advanced method. Why should people resort to riding on a bullock cart when an airplane is at their disposal? If, however, they are unable to handle the superior vehicle successfully, they can choose some other more appropriate form of transportation.

We discussed the importance of grace in Self-realisation. While grace is of primary importance if one is to rise to the highest level, still, it is helpful to have some theoretical knowledge as well. Therefore Abhinavagupta makes a point of discussing the fundamentals of Śaiva monism in his works on Trika Yoga.

One of the important characteristics of Abhinavagupta's yoga is his teaching that a yogin must maintain a non-dualistic outlook throughout the whole process, from the very first initiation all the way through to the most advanced practice of Yoga. This outlook is to be maintained even during idol-worship, līṅga worship, fire worship, oblation, repetition of mystic syllables, etc. Another characteristic of his Yoga is the importance of a highly developed devotional attitude towards the Lord. There are two advantages to this approach. It protects practitioners from the degenerative forces of God known as *ghorātārī śaktis*, and helps in assimilating the results of yogic practices so that whatever spiritual powers arise will not be misused.

Definition of Yoga

According to the Trika system, Yoga is that theological practice which helps in attaining the realisation of absolute unity between the practitioner and Absolute Reality, that is, between the yogin and God. As it says in the *Mālinītantra*:

The unity of one (a finite being) with another (Almighty God) is called yoga by Śiva Yogins (*Mālinīvijayatantra*, IV. 4).

Practitioners of Yoga are advised to realise their forgotten true nature and to recognize themselves as none other than the Absolute, Paramaśiva. This realisation is said to be readily attainable through Trika Yoga, when aided by both an intense devotion

for the Lord and by the correct theoretical knowledge of the pantheistic absolutism of Śaiva monism. Theoretical knowledge removes the yogins mental confusion and misconceptions about Reality, and devotion refines their hearts so that they become capable of actually feeling and experiencing the truth of Śaiva monism. The Yoga of Abhinavagupta is thus an integral process of developing both the head and the heart. People with no mental clarity cannot understand the truth, while those without heart cannot digest it.

By contrast, Patañjali starts the teachings of Yoga from the lowest level, and intends to carry practitioners, step by step, to that systems highest experience known as nirbija samādhi. In this state a person's finite self-consciousness is totally stilled and undistracted by objects. One's consciousness simply shines by itself and remains motionless like the flame of a lamp burning in a place free from blowing wind. There is no knowing and no doing in such a state of mind. But Yogins in this kind of samādhi do not have any awareness of the potency of their divine essence, nor do they appreciate their infinity. In his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, Abhinavagupta considers this form of samādhi to be one of various types of *suṣupti*.

The sleeping state is the result of total non-recognition of the existence of one's body etc. It is short-lived and is, on that account, different (from *pralaya*, the phenomenal dissolution). It is sleep when caused by exhaustion, is swoon if brought about by some defect in some element in the body, is intoxication or madness when caused by some edible material, and is known as samādhi when brought about by one's own free will. These are its varieties (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* with *Bhāskari*, II. 265).

He advises aspirants to rise above *suṣupti* into the higher levels: of the fourth psychic state called *turya*, the state of spontaneous revelation of the divine nature of the Self.

A special and very important characteristic of Trika Yoga, which is not found in other systems, is its doctrine of "possession" (*samāveśa*). In *Samāveśa* practitioners are suddenly infused and possessed with Śiva-hood, and feel themselves to be omniscient and omnipotent. This is not the kind of possession or haunting that occurs when the power that haunts and the person who is haunted are different. Rather, Yogins in *samāveśa* enter a state of unity, and their limited individual personalities get expanded into universal I-consciousness which they feel to be divinely potent in all respects. *Samāveśa* has been defined as the immersion of the dependence of a dependent consciousness into the independence of the Independent Consciousness (*Tantrāloka*, I.73). It is actually the sudden and direct intuition of one's Divine Essence, called *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*.

Sufficient practice in *samāveśa* results in a state of *jīvanmukti* (liberation in this very life) in which a Yogin develops supernatural divine powers (*siddhis*). A *Jīvanmukta* can use these divine powers simply by willing them to be (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, IV.i. 15) though such a refined individual would most probably avoid meddling with the natural order, or in matters of divine administration, which are the province of a long

hierarchy of male and female deities at different levels of authority. This kind of Yogic attainment is not considered to be obstacle on the path of final liberation. Rather, it is said to be helpful, as it removes any lingering doubt about the divine nature of the Self, and develops a firm faith in the eventual attainment of absolute unity with Paramaśiva when the individual dies (Tantrāloka, XII. 183-85). Further, these abilities help create faith and confidence in the mind of worthy disciples who feel that the preceptor, being liberated, can liberate others as well.

Samāveśa can be attained through all the various levels of Trika Yoga. It is one there are highest states that is available at beginning as well as at advanced levels. However when a state of samāveśa comes through a higher level of Yoga it is considered to be superior because it reveals a more elevated aspect of one's Divine essence. Because of the various levels at which Samāveśa can be experienced, the philosophy recognises as many as fifty varieties of Śiva-possession.

Abhinavagupta analyses Trika yoga into three main categories known as *śāmbhava*, *śakta* and *āṇava*. *Āṇava* yoga has been further analysed into *dhyāna*, *uccāra*, *karana*, *dhvani* and *sthānakalpana*. Finally *sthānakalpana* has been analysed still further into six paths of objective meditation on external elements known as *Ṣaḍadhvan*. All these will be discussed briefly in the following pages.

Āṇava Yoga

Āṇava Yoga is known as *bheda-upāya*, the means that is workable at the level of diversity. Its various forms are meant for aspirants who are not capable of directly adopting the practice of the two higher types of Yoga. In Śaivism, *anu* is the name given to finite beings, ordinary persons bound by their limitations, and *Āṇava* is the form of yoga that is useful to these beings living in the field of *māyā* (Tantrāloka, I. 22.1) To further clarify these three *yogas*, *āṇava* is the name given to objective meditation, while both *śakta* and *śāmbhava* are subjective in character. The exact nature of the subject is to be realised directly through *śāmbhava*, while it is to be contemplated upon through the subjective imagination is *śakta*. In *āṇava yoga* the focus changes from the subject to the object. Practitioners have to meditate upon certain objects and have to contemplate their essential nature as described in the philosophy of Śaiva non-dualism. All these objects are to be seen as nothing other than the Absolute. Since such meditation is an action which demands considerable mental effort on the part of *yogins*, and since such effort (*kriyā*) becomes more predominant in *āṇava* yoga than the element of knowing, *āṇava* is also known as *Kriyā Yoga*, the Yoga of action, otherwise *jñāna* and *kriyā* go hand in hand.

In *āṇava* yoga there are two categories of objects to be mediated upon, e.g., those lying inside one's self (*grāhya*) and those existing in the external world (*bāhya*). All of these objects of meditation are ranked according to merit depending on their distance from the subject. Meditation on the object nearest to the subject is considered the highest type of *āṇava yoga* while that conducted on the farthest away object is considered the lowest in merit. *Buddhi*, the understanding capacity, *prāṇa*, the life force, *deha*, the

physical form, and dhavani, the sound of breathing, are the grāhya objects arranged in the descending order of their merit (Tantrasāra, 43). These constitute the four types of internal objects for meditation in ānava yoga. The fifth type is called bāhya, the external objects, which are time and space. Time and space are each considered in three aspects, which causes bāhya yoga to have six subvarieties called ṣaḍadhikṛan, or the six path of meditation on external objects. All these are to be discussed briefly in the following pages.

Dhyāna Yoga

Ānava Yoga, when practiced with contemplative meditation on buddhi, is called dhyāna yoga or buddhi yoga. This is completely different from the dhyāna yoga of Patañjali. One has to imagine the trinity of knowing subject (pramātṛ), knowable object (prameya), and the means of knowing (pramāṇa) as one unitary whole, identical with one's own I-consciousness. Then one has to visualise it as a radiantly shining and burning fire of consciousness, encircled by the flames of the wheel of divine powers, the twelve Kālis, stationed in one's heat. Next it is to be visualised as proceeding out through any of the body's orifices like the eyes, ear, nose, etc., and falling on objects coming within its range, one by one. The practitioners, employing their deepest powers of imagination, further visualize it as creating, sustaining, absorbing, separating and assimilating the objects concerned as fire assimilates fuels. These activities of buddhi are imagined to be the divine activities of God appearing in the form of the practitioners. A regular practice in this contemplative meditation on the functions of their own understanding capacity will thoroughly impress on the practitioners their true nature as the Divine Essence (Tantrasāra, 36-7). They will then attain an ānava samāveśa of Śivahood, and become worthy of practicing śākta yoga as well.

Uccāra Yoga

Next in proximity to the subject is the power of life-force called prāṇa. Prāṇas functions vary depending on whether we are awake, asleep, in a transcendental state, and so on. The elimination and assimilation of objects through breathing, speaking, thinking, working, understanding, etc., constitute the functions of prāṇa in the waking and dreaming states because both the activities of elimination and assimilation are present while we are awake and dreaming. (Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī, III.11.19; Bhāskari, 271-73).

In the more interior state known as dreamless sleep, both prāṇa and apāna become dissolved into a unitary function known as samāna (Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī with Bhāskari, II. 273). It is experienced as an inner vibration.

The fourth function of prāṇa is known as udāna. It is the activity of intuitive revelation of the real nature of the Self and is experienced vividly by yogins in the turyā state. Ordinary people do not usually have experience of such intuitive revelation. Yogins

feel it is as a sensation moving through the spinal cord. All ordinary thinking becomes quieted during intuitive revelation and is replaced by a nonconceptual Self realisation which is experienced as an inner glow or radiance (*ibid.*, 375).

The fifth function of *prāṇa* is known as *vyāna*. It has been described as the total brilliance of the limitless Subject shining infinitely in the transcendental state of *turyātila* (*ibid.*).

Practitioners of Uccāra Yoga have to meditate upon: their own individual I-consciousness, (2) its solitary existence as it becomes freed from objects and means of knowing, (3) *prāṇa* and *apāna* moving together, (4) *samāna*, (5) *udāna*, and (6) *vyāna*. One is supposed to meditate upon all of these objects with the understanding that they are nothing other than one's own inner Self. One withdraws one's attention from the body and the mind, and focuses on the most subtle elements of the pure power of *prāṇa* working in its five functions as described above.

More exact descriptions of how this is done are not available in any of the existing texts. It is supposed to be learned directly from an experienced Yogin serving as a preceptor. When Uccāra Yoga is practiced with the six objects mentioned above, it results in six varieties of Self-bliss which are mentioned below in their ascending order of merit: (1) *nijānanda*, (2) *nirananda*, (3) *parānanda*, (4) *brahmānanda*, (5) *mahānanda*, and (6) *cidānanda* (Tantrāloka, V. 44-50). Beyond these six stages of Self bliss lies the infinite bliss known as (7) *jagadānanda* (*ibid.*, 50, 52). It is this form of Self-bliss that causes the Absolute to manifest its power through the five divine activities (Tantrāloka, V. 53; Mālinīvijayavārttika, I. 893-95). All other types of bliss simply arise from the faintest glimpses of *jagadānanda* which is itself the climax of all experiences of Self-bliss.

Aside from Kashmir Śaivism, no other school of thought has produced such a thorough analysis of the various levels of Self-bliss. With regular practice, *uccāra yoga* will lead to a superior type of immersion into the Self (*āṇava samāveśa*) and to a highly evolved state of liberation in this life-time. Success in this practice also enables practitioners to advance to more refined types of Yoga.

Along with the experiences of Self-bliss described above, the practitioners will feel some peculiar sensations along the central nervous system inside the spine. These sensations are known in other Tantric systems as the movements of *kuṇḍalinī*, the subtle power of *prāṇa* (Tantrāloka, V.111). This power can be aroused by several types of psychophysical exercises and practices through which it is made to move upwards through the spinal cord. However, in the *uccāra yoga* of the Trika system, all this happens automatically, without any effort or complication. In this system there is no need to torture the body with difficult practices in order to taste the fruits of *Kuṇḍalinī Yoga*. They are simply the natural outcome of *uccāra yoga*.

Practitioners of this yoga aim at recognizing the infinite, perfect, divine, and blissful consciousness of the Self, and at becoming firmly established in it. In the process of becoming more adept at this yoga, practitioners will pass through five increasingly refined levels of Self-experience known as *ānanda*, *udbhava*, *kampa*, *nidra*, and *ghṛṇi*. Abhinavagupta explains these discernible signs of progress in *uccāra yoga* as follows:

1. At the first level we will have just a flash of Self-realisation in which we experience a faint touch or momentary face-to-face contact with the perfectness of our real Self. This contact produces a fleeting yet wonderfully sweet taste of Self-bliss. This is *ānanda*.
2. At the second level of progress, we will have a short but powerful experience of the psychic light of pure consciousness shining like lightning beyond our ordinary body-consciousness. This contact causes the physical body to experience a sudden upward emergence or jerk (*udbhava*).
3. Up until this level, our pure I-consciousness and our body-consciousness are integrated, like muddy water which has particles of earth so thoroughly mixed into it that we cannot discriminate between the two elements. But as we feel ourselves becoming established in our divine powerfulness, and body consciousness becomes increasingly feeble as a result, our bodies may start to tremble. This trembling is known as *kampa*.
4. Then, as the life long egocentric belief in our identity with the physical body becomes fully dissolved through inner awareness, we may start dozing if we are unable to remain firmly established in pure consciousness. This is "sleep" (*ālīḍa*).
5. Finally, becoming well established in our real nature, and recognizing our Self in its universal aspect, we may feel a mild whirling movement in the head. This is caused by ecstasy and is called "dizziness" (*ghūṁi* or *mahāyāpti*), an absolute all-pervasiveness.

This sophisticated and highly evolved system of *prāṇa* yoga is unknown in other schools of Yoga in which the concept of *prāṇa* is limited to the function of respiration. Although the terms *samāna*, *udāna*, and so on, are prevalent in other systems of Yoga, their significance has been most clearly explained in the philosophical texts of Kashmir Śaivism.

Karaṇa Yoga

The term *karaṇa* denotes the physical body which, along with certain nerve centers in it, is to be made the target of contemplative meditation. This practice includes many types of *mudrās* prevalent in Hatha Yoga. These physical postures are to be accompanied by special forms of contemplation which will help students realise the absolute divinity of their own nature. Kuṇḍalinī Yoga is part of this practice. Abhinavagupta has not clearly explained *karaṇa yoga* and its method. He says that it is a mystic practice that should only be learned through the verbal teachings of a preceptor (*Tantrāloka*, 13). It appears that *karaṇa yoga* is very quick in yielding supernatural psychophysical powers that are likely to be misused by unworthy practitioners. Because of this danger, Abhinavagupta keeps it a secret. Only an expert preceptor should teach this method, and only to those worthy disciples who will not misuse it. Success in *karaṇa yoga* also results in a form of Self-immersion (*āṇava samāveśa*), and allows the student to advance into higher types of Trika Yoga.

Dhvani Yoga

In this context, *dhvani* refers to the sound of the breathing. It is to be made the object of one's attention, and its rise and fall are to be meditated upon along with mystical syllables like *so-ham* and *hamsah*. These *mantras* are to be experienced as subtly connected to the inward and outward movements of the breath. This method is also known as *varṇa yoga* (*Tantrāloka*, 131-33). This Yoga is also practised by Rādhāśwāmīns, and is known among them as *surat* or *ajapā yoga*. Śiva Yogins add to this practice the contemplation of devotional aspects of the philosophy and the understanding of their divinity within this absolute monism. This saves them from getting led astray into the pursuit of fame and money. This practice brings about the attainment of an inferior type of Self-immersion (*āṇava samāveśa*).

Sthānakalpanā

Objective meditation on entities outside the person, when accompanied by the contemplation of non-dualistic theism, is known as *sthānakalpanā*. The two objects used are time and space. Each of these is further considered according to the three different aspects of fineness, subtleness, and grossness. Time is an abstract entity. It is calculated and measured with the help of successive psychophysical events and action (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, III.1.3 Bhāskari, II.12). The smallest unit of time that humans experience is a moment. Our experience of the duration of a moment changes according to whether we are awake, asleep, dreaming, etc. Classically, a moment has been measured to be as long as one single mental action (*tantrāloka*, VII.25). An idea or thought is thus the basic measure of time. Ideas are accompanied by word-images and in this way words can be said to be the measuring devices of time. There are two types of word-images, conceptual and non-conceptual. The most subtle type of word-image is nonconceptual in character and is called *varṇa*, meaning a sound or a letter. Conceptual word-images are gross in character and are represented by a full-fledged word called *pada*. In between these two there is the category of *mantra*, a mystical syllable, which also is nonconceptual in character. These are the three paths of time called *varṇa*, *mantra*, and *pada* (*Tantrasāra*, 47).

Space is likewise considered to have three aspects, called *kalā*, *tattva* and *bhuvana*. They are respectively fine, subtle, and gross in character (*ibid.*, 47). *Bhuvanas* are the actual abodes of beings. *Tattvas*, the thirty-six elements that encompass the universe and serve as components of *bhuvanas*. *Kalās* are the finer forms of *tattvas*. There are five *Kalās* and most of them are made up of the subtle aspect of several *tattvas* grouped together. For example, *pratiṣṭhā-kalā* contains the essence of all the *tattvas* from water to *prakṛti*. The subtle form of the *tattvas* from *puruṣa* to *māyā* are contained in *vidyākalā*, and the pure *tattvas* up to Śakti lie in *śāntikalā*. Earth lies in *nivṛtti* and

Sivatattva in *śāntyalīla* (*ibid.*, 109-10). According to the Āgamas, the scriptural texts of the Trika, there are 118 *bhuvanas*. These are the three *paths* of meditation on space which constitute, alongwith the three paths of time, the six *paths* of meditation on outward objects known as *śaḍadhvan*.

Practitioners of *sthānakalpanā yoga* are supposed to contemplate, one by one, all the segments of time. Even vast aeons in their ascending order, up to the whole time of Lord Sadāśiva's existence, have to be contemplated and contained within one movement of the breath (*ibid.*, 61). This Yoga carries practitioners out of the limitations of time and washes away its impression from their subconscious minds. Consequently they develop an impression of eternity which becomes one with their essential nature. The practitioners realise that they are eternal. Similarly, they contemplate all the units of space, one by one, and visualise through deep imagination that these are contained inside their physical form (*ibid.*, 63). This practice carries students out of the limitations of space, and they thereby realise the infinite phenomenal aspect of their nature. This is one type of *sthānakalpanā yoga*.

In another form of this yoga, a segment of any of the six *paths* is chosen as an object of meditation. With the aid of the imagination, this segment is visualised to be the Supreme Reality, containing the whole of existence within it, and running that existence according to divine will. This object is perceived to be absolute God appearing in His transcendental and universal aspects.

Many other types of meditation on objects have been discussed in the *Tantrāloka*. The key to all forms of practice in *sthānakalpanā* is the contemplation of absolute unity and divinity as the essential nature of the object of meditation.

All varieties of *sthānakalpanā yoga* lead to a lower type of *ānavaśamāveśa*, and the development of divine powers of mastery over any of the *bhuvanas*, *tattvas*, etc. For this reason, Yogins who are interested in acquiring these divine powers, prefer *sthānakalpanā* to higher types of Yoga. The approach adopted in *sthānakalpanā* can be extended to all types of ritual worship and religious activities. These situations will also result in *ānavaśamāveśa*'s and can be recognised as still lower varieties of *sthānakalpanā*. Ritual performance of many types of initiation (*dikṣā*) are also considered to be aids to Trika Yoga. As with the above forms, these rituals should include contemplations of the absolute divinity of the worshipper, the worshipped, and the means of worship. The realization that everything is actually one thing, and the deep contemplation of this absolute non-dualism is also supposed to be carefully practiced in all forms of this yoga.

Even though Trika yoga contains so many extraordinary concepts and practices, there are very few people who have the keen interest and dedication to undertake this sophisticated and challenging type of Yoga. This must have been the case even in Abhinavagupta's time, for he says:

It is only the black bee and not the honey bee which has an enormous appetite for the fragrance of the ketaki flower. (Similarly) only those rare people who are guided from within by the grace of God, find interest in the absolutely non-dualistic worship of Bhairava, the one perfect whole of everything (*Tantrāloka*. IV. 276).

38

Iconographical Descriptions of Śaiva Images in Orissa's Temples

Pārvatī

Invariably she appears as one of the Pārśvadevatās on the Śaiva temple and in such association she is normally shown as a standing figure with four hands. The images of Pārvatī on the Śaiva temples of Orissa can be divided into two broad groups, based on the presence either of the *Keta* ■ flower or of the *Padma* ■ one of the four hands of the Goddess. These types of images occur in the decoration of the walls of the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Megheśvar, Medāreśvara, the Liṅgarāja, Siddheśvara, Rameśvara, Bhaskareśvara etc.

Lākuliśa

Images of Lākuliśa are fairly found on the temples of Bhubaneśwar and may be classified under two groups. In one group Lākuliśa is shown as seated cross-legged in what is known as *Vaddhāsana* with legs firmly planted on the seat and in the other the crossed legs are tied round with *Yogapatta*. Lākuliśa is usually shown in *Vyākhyāna* mudrā with a *Lākuta* held in one arm. Usually he is shown single but there are also instances where he is found in the company of disciples, two, four or six. Lākuliśa also appears occasionally on the lintels in the company of the teachers of the Paśupata sect. Such type of Lākuliśa images are found on the doorway of the Mārīchikuṇḍa, near Mukteśvara and the other on the doorway of the *Jagamohana* of the Rājārani. The association of the Lākuliśa images gives an idea about the popularity of the Lākuliśa Paśupata cult. An interesting form of Lakulisa should also be taken into consideration. Lākuliśa is represented here with four hands, perhaps the only instance of ■ four-armed form of Lākuliśa. The main pair of hands exhibit the *Vyākhyāna* mudrā with *Lākuta*. This is perhaps, the latest iconic form of Lakuliśa at Bhubaneśwar.

Natarāja

The image of Natarāja, of Śiva as the Lord of Dancers, is a frequently occurring motif in the temple building activity down to the latest and the traditional sculptures of Orissa. By their prolific appearance, artistic excellence and several significant and well marked varieties, the Natarāja images constitute a remarkable series in the art of Bhubaneśwar. Numerous images of Natarāja that appear on the temple of Bhubaneśwar have a snake as one of the attributes, and in the majority of them it is held in the uppermost two hands in a similar manner to be found in these images. In association with the Natarāja images, we also find Gaṇeśa and an attendant with similar musical instruments. Several Natarāja images are to be found on the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara, Mukteśvara, Vaitāl and Śisreśvara etc. The main peculiarity of the variety is that the God here performs the dance in company of the attendants with musical instruments. Besides Natarāja, dancing images of other divinities are also found in Bhubaneśwar. Here, we can say about the dancing images of Ardhanārīśvara in the Paraśurāmeśvara, in the ruined Bharateśvara and Mukteśvara. A female counterpart of Natarāja occurs in one of the panels in the Rājārāṇī.

Hara-Pārvatī

Several varieties of Hara-Pārvatī images are found in the Śaiva temples of Orissa. The association of these Hara-Pārvatī images with the Śaiva temples gives us an idea that Hara-Pārvatī worship quite was popular in Orissa. In the first variety Hara and Pārvatī are seated side by side on a lotus seat below which their respective mounts are shown. Hara has four hands, of which the normal two usually hold a long *Viṇḍ* and the remaining two a *japamālā* and a trident. Pārvatī is seated gracefully to the left side with one of her hand on the seat. While the right hand is on the shoulder of the God facing him admirably. She appears to be listening to the music of the *Viṇḍ*. This form of Hara and Pārvatī appears on the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, the Vaitāl and also in detached sculptures of Bharatī Matha and one within the compound of Lingaraja. In the second variety, Pārvatī facing Hara, is found seated on his lap. The four-armed Hara embraced her with one of his hands and holds a trident in another. One of the other hands shows abhaya mudrā while second holds a *japamālā*.

Ardha-Nārīśvara

Three distinct varieties of Ardha-nārīśvara images are found on the temples of Bhubaneśwar as well as from the other parts of Orissa. In the first variety, the deity stands near the bull shown behind him and has in the main hands a *japamālā*.

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The Image of Śiva

As we have seen, Śiva, like all deities, as envisaged under various aspects and each of these aspects not only bears a different name but is represented by different symbols in different images. For each aspect of Śiva there is *yantra* or numerical-geometrical representation, a *mantra* or symbolic formula, and an anthropomorphic image. The most common symbol of Śiva is the phallus (*liṅga*). Śiva's power of manifestation is shown by the *liṅga* inserted in the *yoni* or female emblem. This is the representation of Śiva found in every one of his temples.

The most common anthropomorphic image of Śiva shows him as "beautiful, three-eyed, with the crescent moon on his brow. From the crown of his matted hair flows the Ganges, emblem of purity, white as milk. His arms are strong and smooth like the trunk of an elephant. He is smeared with ashes and adorned with shining armlets. A garland of pearls and a snake surround his neck. He wears a tiger skin. Two of his hands hold a trident and an ax. The two other hands show the gestures of 'granting boons' and 'removing fear.' " (Karapātri, "Sri Śiva tattva," *Saṁmārga*, 1946).

"Śiva, the lord of sleep, appears seated with his consort, Umā, the Peace-of-the-Night, on a bull as white as the Himalayan peaks. Men and serpents, musician-angels (*gandharva*), celestial-humans (*kinnara*), the gods, their king Indra, and their teacher Brhaspati are ever seen worshipping him. The spirits of darkness, the antigods (*asura*), the daimons (*daitya*), the genii (*yakṣa*), evil-spirits (*bhūta*), ghosts (*preta*), evil-elves (*piśāca*) magicians (*velāla*), mermaids (*dākinī*), witches (*śākinī*), scorpions, serpents, and even tigers are serving him." (Giridhara Śarmā Caturvedi, "Śiva mahimā", *Kalyāṇa Śiva aṅka*, p.57). Thus Śiva rules over both the spirits of light and those of darkness.

The White Colour

Śiva is pictured as white as camphor. "His limbs shine like jewels." (*Śiva Purāṇa* 1.21.82)

The all-pervading consciousness whose form is knowledge is compared to light. Enlightenment is the nature of the centripetal-tendency (*sattva*). Śiva, being the embodiment of the centrifugal-tendency (*tamas*), is made of darkness and should therefore be black. But, as we have already seen (pp. 22f.), the two opposite tendencies being inseparable, darkness is surrounded by light and light is enveloped in darkness. Hence

Viṣṇu, who is all *Sattva*, is shown outwardly black and Śiva, who is all *tamas*, appears white.

According to Giridhara Śarmā Caturvedi ("Śiva Mahimā", p. 57), "white is the basis of all colors. No dyer can dye something white. All other colors are superimposed on white. White exists before and remains after all other colors. That in which all is found but where no differentiation takes place can be called white. This is the nature of divinity. All the shapes of the world are potentially in Śiva yet remain undifferentiated. Difference is the work of ignorance, the power which by suppressing one color causes another to appear. Since all things coexists in Śiva without differentiation, his outward color can only be white."

According to the *Mahābhārata* (12.10364), Śiva is called "the white one" because he wears a shining white garment, and his garland, his sacred thread, his bull, and his banner are all white.

In the *ṛg Veda* (2.33) Rudra is tawny in colour.

The Three Eyes

The three eyes of Śiva represent the sun, the moon, and fire, the three sources of light that illumine the earth, the sphere of space, and the sky. The Purāṇas and Upaniṣad speak of "him whose eyes are sun, moon, and fire." (*Bhasmajāla Upaniṣad* 1. [400]). Through his three eyes Śiva can see the three forms of time, past, present, and future. (*Mahābhārata* 10.1251). The three eyes are said to shine like three suns. (*Ibid.* 13.846).

"The frontal eye, the eye of fire, is the eye of higher perception. It looks mainly inward. When directed outward, it burns all that appears before it. It is from a glance of this third eye that Kāma, the lord of lust, was burnt to ashes and that the gods and all created beings are destroyed at each of the periodical destructions of the universe." (Karapātri, "Śrī Śiva tattva", *Siddhānta*, II, 1941-42, 116).

Having three eyes, Śiva is commonly called Tri-netra, Try-ambaka (*Ṛg Veda* 7.59.12; *Meghadūta* 1.58), Try-akṣa, Tri-nayana (*Meghadūta* 1.52).

In the *Mahābhārata* (13.6362) a legend is told of the way Śiva came to have a third eye. One day the beautiful Daughter-of-the-Mountain (Pārvatī) went behind Śiva and, in play, placed her hands over his eyes. Suddenly the world was covered with darkness and all life seemed suspended. All beings trembled in fear. The lord of the universe had closed his eyes and the light of the world was extinguished. Then a third eye flamed forth, like a sun, on his forehead and darkness disappeared.

The Moon

Śiva bears on his head as a diadem the crescent of the fifth-day moon. "The Moon is Soma, the sacrificial offering. Placed near the fiery third eye, the crescent moon shows the power of procreation co-existent with that of destruction." The moon is also the cup of offering placed near the yogic center of fire located between the brows. It is the chalice of semen, the power of sublimated eros, near the fire of penance. The crescent or digit of

the moon is also the measure of time in counting the days and months. The cycle of the years is represented by the serpent.

The Ganges

The Ganges flowing from the crown of Śiva's head represents the causal-waters (*ap*). The Ganges is said to purify all things. It is the essential instrument of ritual purification. Hence, "holding the Ganges on his head, he Śiva brought into his power the means of the liberation of the world." (Karapātri, "Śrī Śivatattva," *Siddhānta*, II, 1941-42, 116).

The Matted Hair

The *Jaṭā*, Śiva's knot of matted hair, represents the lord of wind, Vāyu, who is the subtle form of *soma*, the flow of offering. It is therefore connected with the Gangas, the manifest *soma*, flowing from Śiva's head. The *Rg Veda* (2.33) mentions Rudra's matted hair.

The Tiger Skin

The tiger is the vehicle of Śakti, the symbol of the power of Nature (*Prakṛti*). Śiva is beyond the power of Nature. He is its master and carries the skin in the tiger as a trophy.

A legend says that once Śiva wandered in a forest in the form of a naked mendicant. The wives of the sages were bewitched by his beauty. The sages, in an attempt to overpower him, dug a pit, and through magic formulae caused a tiger to rush out of it. Śiva slew the tiger and taking its skin wore it as a garment. The *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (3.61; 16.51) of the *Śukla Yajur Veda* mentions that Rudra is clad in skin.

The Four Arms

The four arms of Śiva are the sign of universal power. They represent the four directions of space and show mastery over the elements. This symbol corresponds to that of the cross (see p. 353) and of the wheel (see p. 354, s.v. "The Star Hexagon"). In some of his aspects Śiva has ten arms (*Mahābhārata* 13.1154). These also represent the directions of space and are connected with his five-headed form.

The Trident

The trident of Śiva is the symbol of the three qualities of Nature, the three *guṇas*, and hence of the three functions of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. In the microcosm the trident represents the three subtle arteries of the body, *idā*, *piṅgalā*, and *sūṣumnā*, which, according to the theory of yoga, ascend from the root center at the base of the spinal cord to reach the "lotus of a thousand petals" at the summit of the head. The trident is also the giver of punishment on the spiritual, subtle, and physical planes. "As the giver of the three punishments (*śūla*) to the evildoer, you shine like the Law, holder of the trident." (*Śaiva Siddhānta-sāra*, 401)

The trident is called *triśūla* or, more commonly, *śūla*. It is also called the Victorious (Vijaya) (*Mahābhārata* 12.14551). With his trident Śiva destroyed King Māndhātara and all his army (*ibid.* 13.860). As the trident-bearer Śiva is named Śūlin (*Meghadūta* 5.34), Śūladhara, or Śūlapaṇin.

The Spear Pāśūpata

The favourite weapon of Śiva is the fearful spear called the Herdsman's-Staff (Pāśūpata), with which he kills the genti (*daitya*) in battle and with which, at the end of the ages, he destroys the universe. Śiva gave this spear to Arjuna after their fight. (*Mahābhārata* 3.11985). This spear is also called the Head-of-the-Immensity (Brahmāsira). (*Ibid.* 1.5306; 3.1644).

The Ax, the Bow (Pināka), and the Club Khaṭvāṅga

Śiva possesses a sharp battle-ax (*paraśu*). He gave it to Paraśu-Rāma, who, with its help, destroyed the princely order the *kṣatriyas*. (*Mahābhārata* 13.864). So that he may assist the gods, Śiva always holds in his hand a bow resembling the rainbow, which is made of powerful serpent with seven heads and poisonous teeth. (*Mahābhārata* 13.849, 6396).

"Because he carries a bow called Pināka, Rudra, the true image of Śiva Giver-of-Peace (Śaṅkara-Śiva), is called Pinākīn (the bowman)." (*Śivatoṣaṇī* commentary on the *Linga Purāṇa* 1.6.25. [402]. The bow is also sometimes called Ajagava (the southern sunpath). Khaṭvāṅga (the striking limb) is a club with a skull at its end.

The Serpent

Śiva carries a snake around his neck. Snakes always surround his image, and a snake is coiled around his phallus (*liṅga*).

Śiva is beyond the power of death, yet is himself always surrounded with death. He alone can drink the deadly poison to free the world from its effect. In cosmology the serpent is taken to represent the spiral, which is the symbol of the cycles of time. But the main meaning attached to the serpent is to represent the basic dormant energy, akin to the sexual power, which is coiled at the base of the spinal cord and which is the support of the Yogi in his attempt to conquer the higher worlds during his inward journey. This energy, source of all spiritual conquests, is called Kuṇḍalinī (the coiled), the serpent power.

The Noose and the Garland of Skulls

Śiva carries a noose (*pāśa*) with which he binds refractory offenders. At the time of destruction Śiva remains alone. The universe is then compared to the remnant of a funeral pyre, a heap of ashes and calcinated bones (*raṇḍa-muṇḍa*). Śiva is shown covered with these ashes and wearing a garland of skulls (*raṇḍa-muṇḍa-dhārī*). "At the end of the ages, tossing a skull on the vast funeral pyre of the universe, you remain alone, O god !

adorned with skulls, as the sole refuge of whatever consciousness is left, upholding the elements." (*Śaiva Siddhāntasāra*, 403). The garland of skull is also said to represent the perpetual revolution of ages and the successive appearances and disappearances of the human races.

The Ashes

Śiva is said to have burned the universe and all the gods including Viṣṇu and Brahmā with a glance of his third eye, and to have rubbed their ashes (*vibhuti*) on his body.

The yogis, as a sign of their discipline, rub themselves with the ashes of the ritual fire. This gives to their naked bodies a strange, fearful whiteness and protects them from the mild cold of the tropical winter. For the man of complete renunciation the ashes may be those of the funeral pyre.

In Yoga the ashes are a symbol of the sublimated power of procreation. The semen of the man who observes perfect chastity is consumed inside his body. This burned energy is believed to give a peculiar beauty and radiance to his body. This brilliance of the yogi is spoken of as the glow of the ashes of his semen. As the lord of continence, Śiva, who burned Kāma, the god of lust, to ashes, himself appears smeared with ashes. The crack-of-fire (*bhṛgu*) is the name given to the inner fire of the subtle centers of the body, which burns to ashes the water or semen (*retas*). "The seed that came through these exhausted, burned, and heated centers was roasted. It was roasted, hence it became Bhṛgu, 'the crack of fire.' Bhṛgu's nature is combustion." (*Gopātha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.3, 404). Śiva is called "the lord of the cracks-of-fire" (*Bhṛgu-pati*). The Bhṛgus, envisaged as a group of deities whose name is derived from *bhṛāj*, "to shine", are a mythical race of beings who discovered fire (*Rg Veda* 10.46.2 [405] and brought it to man (*ibid.* 1.58.2 [406]; 1.95.2 [407]).

The Hourglass-shaped Drum, the Ḍamaru

The two complementary principles, the *liṅga* and the *yoni*, are graphically represented by the fiery triangle with upward apex and the watery triangle with downward apex. When the triangles penetrate one another to form the hexagon, this is taken to show the state of manifestation. When they part, the universe dissolves. The instant when their apexes alone are in contact is the point-limit (*bindu*), from which manifestation begins. This is shown in the hourglass shape which is that of the Ḍamaru, the drum of Śiva, from which all the rhythms of manifestation are said to have come forth (see p. 354, s.v. "The Star Hexagon").

The Bull

The vehicle of Śiva is a bull (*vr̥ṣa* or *vr̥ṣabha*), white as snow, with a huge body and soft brown eyes. Its neck is thick; its horns are as hard as diamonds. With their sharp red points it tears up the earth. (*Meghadūta* 1.52, [408]). It has broad shoulders, sleek sides, and a black tail and is decorated with a golden girth. Its hump resembles the top of a snow-covered mountain.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, this bull was given to Śiva by Ritual-Skill (Dakṣa), who is sometimes spoken of as the Creator Dakṣa-Brahmā (*ibid.* 13.6401) or as the lord of progeny, Prajāpati (*ibid.* 13.3722). The bull is also the emblem which appears on Śiva's banner. Śiva is thus Vṛṣāṅka, he "whose emblem is the bull," and Vṛṣabhadhvaja, he "whose banner is the bull."

The bull which wanders about, anxious to find a mate, is taken as the embodiment of the sex impulse. Most living creatures are governed by their instincts; they are ridden over by the bull. They are merely the appendage of their reproductive powers.

But Śiva is the master of lust. He rides on the bull. With one glance of his third eye, the eye of higher perception, he reduces to ashes the Seducer-of-the-Mind (Madana), the god of love, who disturbs his meditation. Only those who have attained knowledge are the masters of their impulses, can ride on the bull, and utilise for other ends the power of transmitting physical life. "Among those who have mastered the bull you are the bull keeper. O Lord! riding on the bull, you protect the worlds." (Quoted in Karapātri's "Līṅgopāsanā-rahasya, *Siddhānta*, II, 1941-42. 409).

The experiments of the Yogis have led them to the discovery that sex energy is the very energy that man can utilise for the conquest of his own self. The sexually powerful man, if he controls himself, can attain any form of power, even conquer the celestial worlds. On the other hand, men of weak temperament are unqualified for great adventures, physical or mental. The sex impulse must therefore never be denied or weakened. Thus Yoga opposes exaggerated austerities. The man of strong powers is the vehicle of Śiva.

The bull of Śiva is called the Joyful (Nandi) or the lord-of-gladness (Nandikeśvara). He is also called the Wandered (Bhṛṅgi). He is the embodiment of justice and virtue, the qualities of the strong. Nandi is most commonly shown in the form of a bull lying down before the image of Śiva. Worshipers touch his testicles before entering the temple. They are the source of life. Nandikeśvara is represented in human form but with a bull's head. He is considered one of the mythical teachers of music and dancing.

The Lion

To climb on his mount, Śiva sets foot on the lion Pot-bellied (Kumbhodara).

"Know that I am the servant of Śiva, the friend of his lieutenant Nikumbha. My name is Pot-bellied. When Śiva wishes to climb on his bull, white as the pleasure mountain Kailāsa, he first honors my back with the touch of his feet" (*Raghuvamśa* 2.35. 410).

This pot-bellied represents greed for food. Food is the unavoidable step toward lust. Unless man controls his food, he cannot succeed in controlling his impulses. "Lust is a great eater", says the Bhagavadgita (3.37 [411]).

Kāśī, the Resplendent City

Kāśī, the resplendent city of Śiva, is now called Vārāṇasī (Benares). Śiva's most sacred temples are here. Kāśī is believed to be the world's oldest city, built by the first king in a forest carpeted with the sacred *kāśī* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*). Hence "Kāśī is where the *kāśī* grass grows" [413]. In this forest Kumāra (Kārttikeya), the son of Śiva, was born.

Kāśī represents the city-of-knowledge (*jñāna-puri*). In the microcosm "Kāśī" is the name given to the summit of the head, where knowledge is said to dwell. The "lotus of a thousand petals" at the summit of the head is thus Kāśī-puri (the resplendent city).

This inner "Kāśī" is situated at the point where the three subtle arteries of the body unite. Hence it is said to stand on the trident of Śiva. Similarly the earthly Kāśī, the holy Benares, is at the point where the three Ganges cross on another. These are the celestial Ganges or Milky Way, the earthly river, and the subterranean stream called the "Underworld Ganges" (*Pātāla Gaṅgā*). The Underworld Ganges is said to come down from the Himālayas, but unlike the earthly river, it descends toward the south.

There are five main temples of Śiva in which *liṅgas* symbolising the five elements are worshipped. In Kāśī is the water *liṅga*, in Kāñci (Conjeeveram) the earth *liṅga*, in Chidambaram the ether *liṅga*, in Kālahasti the air *liṅga*, in Tiruvannamalai the fire *liṅga*.

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This encyclopaedia has been compiled by a leading Hindu spiritual teacher and eminent Vedic scholar Swami Parmeshwaranand of Haridwar (U.P.). He has written several books on Hindu religion and translated many important religious scriptures into English. He has also conducted several seminars, and workshops where many reputed theologians from all over the world took participation.

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